

Cherry Valley Massacre November 11, 1778

Notes, etc. Collected while researching the event for my Family History and for a presentation prepared for the Androscoggin Historical Society.

Cherry Valley Notes

Cherry Valley Massacre History

<http://www.revwar75.com/battles/ref1778.htm>

References: 1778 Battles and Skirmishes

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Cherry Valley

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A little earlier that year a fort had been built at Cherry Valley, and in July a garrison of Massachusetts troops (Ichabod Alden's 6th Continental regiment) was posted there. General Stark at Albany promptly ordered retaliation against all who were aiding Brant, some of whom were believed to be residents of the "Old England" district. Captain William Hudson Ballard was accordingly sent out from the fort on August 10 with a strong scouting party toward the Butternuts. (On this scout, presumably, Sergeant James Butterfield of the 6th Massachusetts had his first glimpse of the country where he was to build a home and raise a family.) Ballard's men took fifteen residents of the Butternuts into custody, also two of Brant's men "Clothed and painted Like Indians" who had come up the Unadilla to collect cattle. Returning by way of Canadarago, Ballard also seized Tunnickliff and his son William, who had hidden their arms, and drove up to the fort a hundred cattle, besides horses and sheep. The examinations of the captives repeatedly sounded the same refrain: Brant and his men had forced them at gunpoint to provide supplies for their raiding parties. All the captives were sent on to Albany; the livestock was sold at auction and was presumably largely eaten by hungry soldiers. A fortnight later, having heard that the Albany committee for detecting conspiracies had released the captives and criticized the troops for unwarranted severity, Colonel Alden wrote Stark "that if they Send them Back, I will again take them Prisneors," for Alden was satisfied that as long as they resided between the lines "they will have it in their Power greatly to injure this garrison." Behind this squabble, which was eventually

brought to the notice of the commander in chief himself, no doubt lay the rooted jealousy between the local New York authorities and the New England officers and troops. As for the Tunnickliffs, though they were permitted by the Albany Committee to go search for their stock, they found very few. Tunnicliff's memorial of 1798 relates in piteous style his losses and insults at the hands of that "gang of soldiers which consisted of old privateers men," and how he had returned to his farm seven years later to find "A Bed of Briers -- without either fence or Building.... When I was in my Strength & prosperity in the space of Twenty Years I Never Cleared so Much value as I lost By Captain Ballard." In spite of their tribulations, the Tunnicliff family survived and flourished, and during the 19th century they were among the substantial citizens of Richfield Springs and neighboring villages.

<http://www.ls.net/~newriver/ny/cherryvalley.htm>

Diary of Captain Benjamin Warren at Massacre of Cherry Valley
Remarkable Narrative of the Fearful Massacre Led by the Tories and Indians in American Revolution -- Written by a Captain on the Battlefield in 1778 -- Transcribed from the Jared Sparks Collection of Manuscripts Deposited in the Library at Harvard University

by DAVID E. ALEXANDER, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Originally Published in the Journal of American History, 1909

THIS is the remarkable narrative of a soldier's experience at the massacre of Cherry Valley, in the American Revolution, in 1778. It was recently revealed while searching through the manuscripts of the priceless Jared Sparks collection, in the library at Harvard University, and by permission of the curator is accurately transcribed and recorded in these pages. This is undoubtedly one of the most valuable contributions to American history, bringing, as it does, new evidence to bear upon one of the most terrible massacres in American warfare. Moreover, the witness is one of the great Americans of the Revolution - Captain Benjamin Warren, who, it is said, refused a generalship to fight in the ranks. His experiences on the battlefield of Saratoga, one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world, were recorded from his own manuscript in the preceding issue of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, with a brief biography of Captain Warren. His experiences at the massacre of Cherry Valley add a new chapter to his brave career. It was on the tenth of December, in 1778, that the village of Cherry Valley, in central New York, was attacked and destroyed by seven hundred Tories and Indians. About fifty inhabitants were murdered without regard to age or sex. Many persons of refinement were among the victims, and it was such an atrocity as this, with that of the Wyoming massacre, that thoroughly aroused the patriots against the Tories. The testimony of this eye witness brings new and overwhelming evidence against the methods of warfare that have been the subject of discussion among historians ever since the American

Revolution. The ancient manuscript is transcribed with the orthography of the times.

July-Friday 24th, 1778. This morning drew provision, cooked and took waggons on the south side river; loaded our baggage and marched for Cherry Valley soon after we began our march, came on a heavy rain; about four o'clock arrived at the garrison, which was a meeting house picketed in with a large number of distressed inhabitants crowded in men, women and children; drew some rum for the men and placed them in their several quarters; the inhabitants received us with the greatest tokens of joy and respect and it was like a general goal delivery; they began to take the fresh air and move into the nearest houses, from their six weeks confinement in that place.

Saturday 25th. This morning shifted my linen and went out, having a very good nights rest after our fatigue, having marched now one hundred and eighty miles, with stopping but two days during the whole march paraded our men: called the roll; took breakfast and went down to the garrison; consulted with the officers the best method of fortifying and covering our men, they being distributed in barns.

Sunday 26th. This morning after roll call, went down to the garrison and from thence to the Cols. quarters; about eleven o'clock returned to the garrison, where we had a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Johnson[60] from these words; "Be of good courage and play the man for our people and to the cities of our God, and the Lord will do what seemeth him good."

Monday 27th. I was officer of the day to inspect the guards and relieved Capt. Coburn.[61]

Tuesday 28th. This morning it rained; did not go on the parade; about 12 o'clock, Ensign Charles,[62] went with a party to guard the waggons down to the river after provision. Nothing material or worthy of notice until August 10th; in the interim Col. Alden arrived.

August 10th On this day received intelligence of Brant[63] and his party's design of attacking this garrison by an express from Gen. Stark;[64] in consequence of which Capt. Ballard[65] with a party of 60 men was sent out to make discovery, who went to the butternuts.[66] Took 14 tories of Brant's party, collecting cattle, and about 100 head of cattle and horses, 40 sheep; all the troops on the ground were employed fortifying.

August 16th. A small scout of six men went out near Tunaelefs;[67] fell in with a small party of the Indians; killed one, but the rest escaped.

" 19th. On receiving intelligence by one of our scouts, that Brant and his party was to be at Tunaeliss, a party of 150 men, commanded by Col. Stacy, marched by the way of Lake Osago,[68] came to houses about 17 miles, and

lodged there.

" 21st. This morning about daybreak, paraded; marched through low and swampy ground; about ten o'clock crossed two creeks and twelve o'clock arrived on a mountain, looking down on Tunaeliss house; made no discovery of the enemy; sent a party each way to the right and left to surround the house; we then rushed down, found none of them, though a sumptuous dinner prepared for the enemy, who, on our arrival at the house, fired a gun in the woods near us and some was seen to run off ; the women would give us no information but a lad, being threatened, informed that some Indians had been there that morning; we made good use of the victuals and proceeded to the foot of Scuyler's lake; forded the creek and marched down to Scuyler's house about nine miles made no discovery of the enemy: lodged there.

August 22nd. About six o'clock this morning, paraded and marched down by Young's lake, through Springfield[69] that was burnt, to Cherry Valley about 60 miles lower; received intelligence that the French fleet was gone to Rhode Island to cover the landing of their troops, and to lay siege to that place. On the British General receiving intelligence there of the English fleet pursued them; on which an engagement ensued, in which the English fleet came off with loss and returned to York.

" 28th. This day was informed by a letter from Albany that the French fleet had returned to Rhode Island and had brought in 25 sail of vessels, prizes; viz; one sixty-four two frigates a number of tenders and transports to make up that number. By an English paper in the House of Lords in June it appeared that in 1777, the King of Britain had in the sea and land service in America 60 odd thousand and that by the returns it appeared that his army by being killed, wounded, and taken, deserted and sickness had diminished in America 28 thousand.

September 1778. We sent a scout down to Tunadilla,[70] who took three prisoners out of their beds and came off discovered; who gave information, on examination, Brant was to muster and arm his men the next day, and march for this place or the flats; that his party was about four or five hundred strong.

The Col. on getting this intelligence, sent dispatches to the Gen. at Albany, to Germon Flats and to Seoharry;[71] which intelligence proved true: for about a week after the enemy came and attacked the flats in the night of the 17th burnt most of the houses and barns with grain, and drove off most of their cattle; killed or wounded but few of the inhabitants, they fled to the fort; and notwithstanding the timely notice, through the negligence of Capt. Clark, they had few men in the fort and his still greater negligence in not giving us timely notice, when they did come, the enemy escaped with part of their plunder. Immediately on our receiving intelligence, which was 24 hours after it was done, though but 12 miles distant, Major Whiting went out with 180 men; who pursued them as far as the butternuts, but could not overtake them; he took three of their party, tories and brought them in, with some

stock they left in their hurry; meanwhile the enemy were at Germon flats, a party of our Oneida Indians went down from fort Stanwix : fell on Tunadilla, burnt and took the spoil and brought off a number of prisoners; some continentals they retook that were prisoners there. Brant's party fearing the country would be upon their backs, made what haste they could; a division of them arrived first at Tunadilla and found the place had been beset with our people, and put off immediately: the other coming in, found part of their party gone off: left all and followed them to Niagra, Col. Butler[72] of Seoharry sent down a scout and found they had fled: he marched with his regiment and riflemen and Indians to the number of 500 men immediately for Susquehanna.

October 1st Col. Alden received orders to arrange his regiment agreeable to the new establishment, which will take place from 14 inst. Oct. in the following order:

1st Capt. Ballard, Lieut. Lunt, Ensign Parker.
 2nd Infantry Coburn, Lieut. Bufington, Lieut. Givens.
 3rd Capt Day, Adjutant and Lieut. White, Lieut. Day.
 4th Capt. Warren, Lieut. Maynard, Ensn. Bragnall.
 5th Capt. Reed, Lieut. Holden, Ensign and Paymaster Tucker.
 6th Capt. Lane, Lieut. Peabody, Eno and Q. Master Kindry.
 7th C: Capt. Lieut. Parker, Lieut. Trowbridge.
 8th L: C., Lieut. Curtis, Lieut. Carter.
 9th M: Lieut. Thorpe, Ensign Garrett.

Lieut. Billings[73] requested a discharge and Ensign Charles was dropt. Mr. Heckler[74] was chosen paymaster and had an appointment in the lines, but declined; on which Ensign Tucker's was chosen.

By intelligence from Albany we learn that the Brest fleet had arrived on our coast. By a young man belonging to the river, who was retaken at Tunadilla, we learn that Lieut. Maynard[76] was very ill treated by the Indians, Ensign arrived from Albany, who brings us information that our regiment was talked of to take Gansworts[77] place at Fort Stanwix, but he thought that Vansoits'[78] would and we should march down in about three weeks. Mr. Smith, the Commissary of Massachusetts stores arrived, which was a welcome visitor. At the sale of the tory effects, I bought a horse for 85 dollars. Gave Lieut. Billings an order on Tobez Elwell to take my mare and dispose of her for me, if said Elwell had not sold her; if he had, Billings was to receive the pay for me and keep it till called for, or pay it to my wife at Plymouth.[79]

October 10th. It began raining and lasted until the twelfth and snowed so that considerable was left on the ground.

October 12th. Cleared up cold and froze hard-13th it continued cold and blustering; yesterday Serjeant Bartlett joined the company from West Point; informed that the regiment was likely to be removed from here soon: Mr.

Hicklen left the regiment to go down after money for the regiment, by which means the Artillery company was put under my charge.

About the first of November Gen. Hand,[80] who was ordered to the command of the Northern Department came to direct us to determine on the expediency of quartering the troops here the winter. He called for a return of what ordinance stores, amunition, &c, I had in the garrison; meanwhile an express arrived from Fort Stanwix, informing that one of the Oneidas was at a Council of war of the enemy's, in which it was determined to visit Cherry Valley. The General had the regiment turned out and reviewed them; he payed us a high compliment in orders and in consequence of the express, he went down and ordered Col. Klock[81] to send immediately 200 men to reinforce us, which the Gen. wrote was to have been here the 9th of November and ordered up a large quantity of provision and amunition stores, which however did not come to hand nor any reinforcement of men and on Wednesday, the 11th, about 12 o'clock, the enemy to the number of 650, rushed upon us, surrounded headquarters and the fort immediately and pushed vigorously for the fort, but our soldiers behaved with great spirit and alertness; defended the fort and repulsed them, after three hours and half smart engagement. Col. Alden in endeavouring to reach the fort was killed; Col. Stacy made prisoner together with Lieut. Holden,[82] Ensign Garrett,[83] the surgeon's mate, and a serjeant, about 12 or 14 of the regiment: twelve of the regiment besides the Col. killed and two wounded.

November 12th. No reinforcements till about 9 or 10 o'clock. The Indians came on again and gave a shout for rushing on, but our cannon played brisk; they soon gave away: they then went round the settlement burnt all the buildings mostly the first day and collected all the stock and drove the most of it off; killed and captivated all the inhabitants, a few that hid in the woods excepted, who have since got into the fort.

November 13th. In the afternoon and morning of the 13th we sent out parties after the enemy withdrew; brought in the dead; such a shocking sight my eyes never beheld before of savage and brutal barbarity; to see the husband mourning over his dead wife with four dead children lying by her side, mangled, scalpt, and some their heads, some their legs and arms cut off, some torn the flesh off their bones by their dogs-12 of one family killed and four of them burnt in his house.

Saturday 14th. The enemy seemed to be gone; we sent out to collect what was left of cattle or anything; found some more dead and buried them.

Sunday 15th. This day some provision arrived being the first supply after the first attack when we had not a pound for man in garrison, for four or five days, but a trifle of meat. In the afternoon a scout we thought had been taken by them, a serjeant and eight men arrived in safe. By some they took prisoners they let go again; informed they had a number wounded and we saw a

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number of them fall, so that we have reason to think we killed more of them than they killed of our regiment, though they butchered about 40 women and children that has been found. It came on to storm before the engagement began: first with rain, but for this day past, it has been a thick snow storm.

Monday 16th. The snow continued falling & is almost knee deep on a level.-The Col. was buried the 13th with - - - under arms with all the honors of war.- Though there was 300 men, between this and the river, 84 most of them together before we were attacked, yet they came within four miles and laid there until they were assured the enemy was gone off. Col. Butler, though near 40 miles off, marched and got near and, would have been the first to our assistance, had we not sent him word they were gone off: we are here in a shocking situation, scarcely an officer that has anything left, but what they have on their back.

Tuesday 17th. The weather continued stormy; scouts were sent off, but no discovery made of the enemy near.

Wednesday 18th. Nothing material; still stormy.

Thursday 19th. A party of our men out discovered tracks on the mountains, not far off.

Friday 20th. Some stores and amunition arrived from the river.

Saturday 21st. This day a scout from Col. Butler's came in from the river; informed that Eight houses were burnt south west from fort Planks[85] & 3 men made prisoners by the enemy: still stormy: Major Whiting got him a new house built and moved in this day: Having cartridge paper come employed the Artillery men making cannon cartridges; received intelligence of Capt. Coburn's arrival at Albany with clothing for the regiment. I wrote by Major Desine to bring them forward immediately unless the Gen. should order us from this place, in consequence of our request for that favor.

Sunday 22nd. This day by request of the Major, I took charge of a party to fix the guard house with chimney &c; wrote to the Gen. by request of the Major for a relief of the regiment and to have us join our Brigade.

Monday aid. From this to the end of the month, fatigue parties making --- round the fort.

The above copied from Captain Warren's Original Diary lent to me by Mr. Daggetts, of New York. J. S.

NOTES

60 The Reverend William Johnston, was the first settler of Sidney, New York.

In 1778, he with four other "rebel" families, were warned by Brant to leave the settlement within forty-eight hours, which they did, removing to Unadilla.

On the arrival of Colonel Alden's regiment at Cherry Valley, he was made chaplain. He died sometime during 1783. (Halsey, Old N. Y. Frontier, p. 58: Stone, Life of Brant, vol. 1, p. 180, et seq.)

61 Asa Coburn, 1st Lieutenant of Danielson's Massachusetts Regiment, May to December, 1775; 1st Lieutenant, 5th Continental Infantry, 1st January to 31st December, 1776; Captain 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777, and served to June, 1783. (Heitman, Officers Continental Army, p. 129.)

62 Joseph Charles, Ensign 7th Massachusetts, 19th November, 1777; resigned 30th September, 1778. (Ibid, p. 121.)

63 Joseph Brant was a Mohawk of pure blood. His parents made their home at the Canajoharie Castle, in the Mohawk Valley; but he was born while his parents were on a hunting expedition, in 1742, on the banks of the Ohio. Brant was well educated, having attended the school of Doctor Wheelock, in Lebanon, Connecticut. From 1762 to 1765, he was a missionary interpreter, and did much for the religious instruction of his tribe. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Brant was head war chief of the Six Nations, and he espoused the British cause. Toward the close of 1775, he went to Canada, and then to London, England, where he was received with great courtesy by the nobility; due in a great measure to his intimacy with Sir William Johnson. After a sojourn of several months there, he returned to America. During the revolutionary war, he was mostly engaged in border warfare in New York and Pennsylvania, with the Johnsons and notorious Walter Butler. He held a colonel's commission from the King, but was generally known as Captain Brant. After the conclusion of the war, he again visited England, and upon his return devoted himself to the social and religious improvement of the Mohawks, who were then settled in Upper Canada. He died at his residence, at the head of Lake Ontario, November 24, 1807. (Stone, Life of Joseph Brant: Lossing, Field Book, vol. 1, p. 256 note.)

64 John Stark was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, August 28 1728. While on a hunting expedition in 1752, he was taken prisoner by a party of St. Francis Indians, and was ransomed by a friend for the sum of one hundred and three dollars. During the French and Indian war, Stark was a first lieutenant in Roger's corps of rangers, which was raised in New Hampshire. After the disastrous battle at Fort Ticonderoga, in 1758, in which he participated, he returned to his home, and saw but little active service again during the war. He hastened to Cambridge on hearing of the battle of Lexington, in April, 1775, and was appointed colonel of one of the regiments organized soon after. He fought with great bravery at the battle of Bunker Hill. In 1776, he was with Washington in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and in March, 1777, he resigned his commission. Later in the same year, he was selected to command the New Hampshire militia, ranking as a brigadier-general; and in

August of that year, he decisively defeated the British and Hessians at Bennington. For this victory Congress appointed him brigadier-general in the Continental army. He commanded the Northern department in 1781, with headquarters at Saratoga. He was made major-general, by brevet in 1783. General Stark died May 8, 1822. (Headley, Washington and his Generals, vol. 2, p. 200; et seq : State of New Hampshire, Memoir of General John Stark.)

65 William Hudson Ballard, Captain Frye's Massachusetts Regiment, May to December, 1775; Captain 6th Continental Infantry, 1st January to 31st December, 1776; Captain 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777; Major 15th Massachusetts, 1st July, 1779; resigned 1st January, 1781. (Died -December, 1814.) (Heitman, Officers Continental Army, p. 73.)

66 The Butternuts, a creek so named from the great number of butternut trees growing along its banks.

67 The house of John Tunaeliffe stood in what is now a part of Richfield, New York. He was one of the early settlers of that village.

68 Lake Otsego.

69 Springfield, a small town situated at the head of Otsego Lake, ten miles west of Cherry Valley.

70 Tunadilla was the Indian name of the present town of Unadilla, New York. It is situated on the Susquehanna River, about forty-three miles north-east of Binghamton

71 Schoharie, the county seat of Schoharie County, situated about thirty-eight miles west of Albany.

72 "Soon after the battle of Monmouth, Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler, with one of the Pennsylvania regiments and a detachment of Morgan's riflemen, was ordered north, and stationed at Schoharie. Butler was a brave and experienced officer, especially qualified for the service upon which he was appointed." (Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, vol. 1, pp. 355-56.)

73 Benjamin Billings, Lieutenant 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777; discharged 30th September. 1778. (Heitman, Officers Continental Army, p. 86.)

74 William Hickling, Paymaster 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777; resigned 30th September, 1778. (Ibid, p. 219.)

75 Joseph Tucker, Ensign 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777; Lieutenant, 9th February, 1780; Paymaster of regiment, 1st January, 1777 to June 1783. (Ibid, p. 405.)

76 Jonathan Maynard, Lieutenant of Nixon's Massachusetts Regiment, May to December, 1775; 1st Lieutenant 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777; taken prisoner at Young's House, 3d February, 1780; exchanged 22d December, 1780; Captain 25th January, 1781; retired 1st January, 1783. (Died 17th July, 1835.) (Ibid, p. 289.)

77 Peter Gansevoort, was a native of Albany, where he was born, July 17, 1749. In June, 1775, he was commissioned major of the Second New York, and later in that year accompanied Montgomery in the campaign against Canada. On November 21, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and for his successful defense of Fort Schuyler, against St. Leger's force in August 1777, he received the thanks of Congress. In March, 1781, Gansevoort was appointed brigadier-general of the New York militia, which he held until the close of the war. After the war, he was for many years military agent of the Northern department. On February, 1809, he was commissioned brigadier-general in the United States Army. He died July 2, 1812, aged sixty-two years.

78 Goose Van Schaiek, Colonel 2d New York, 28th June, 1775; Colonel 1st New York, 8th March, 1776; By the act of 10th May, 1779; it was "Resolved, that the thanks of Congress be presented to Colonel Van Schaiek, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their activity and good conduct in the late expedition against the Onondagas." Brevet Brigadier-General, 10th October, 1783; served to November, 1783. (Died 4th July, 1787.) (Heitman, Officers Continental Army, p. 409.)

79 Plymouth, Massachusetts.

80 Edward Hand was a native of Kings County, Ireland. In 1774, he came to this country with his regiment (the Eighteenth Royal Irish), then serving as a surgeons-mate. He resigned his commission shortly after, refusing to fight against an oppressed people. Upon leaving the regiment, he proceeded to Pennsylvania, where he practiced medicine for a short time. At the commencement of hostilities, he offered his services to this country, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of Thompson's Pennsylvania rifle battalion. He was promoted to be brigadier-general in the Continental Army April 1, 1777, and early in 1781, to be adjutant-- general. After the war he held several civil offices of trust, and his name is attached to the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790. In 1798, his name appears as major-general in the United States Army, he was honorably discharged July 15, 1800. General Hand died on September 3, 1802.

81 Jacob Klock, Colonel of Tryon County militia.

82 Aaron Holden, 2d Lieutenant 6th Continental Infantry, 1st January to 31st December, 1776; 1st Lieutenant 7th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1777; taken prisoner at Cherry Valley, 11th November, 1778; Captain, 1780; was a prisoner when retired, 1st January, 1781. (Died , 1810.) (Heitman, Officers

Continental Army, p. 224.)

83 Andrew Garrett, Ensign 7th Massachusetts, 1st October, 1778; taken prisoner at Cherry Valley, 11th November, 1778; Lieutenant 25th October, 1778; transferred to 6th Massachusetts, 1st January, 1783, and served to 3d June, 1783. (Ibid, n. 787.)

84 The Mohawk.

85 Fort Plank was established in 1776, and was situated two and a half miles west of Fort Plain. The fort was in reality the house of Frederick Plank, which was palisaded by a square inclosure, with a block-house on each corner. Troops were constantly stationed here during the Revolution, and it was considered a post of importance. (Simms, Frontiersmen of New York, pp. 573-74.)

<http://www2.whidbey.com/jerod/cherry.htm>
Joseph Brant and the Cherry Valley Massacre
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The Cherry Valley Massacre was all about revenge; revenge on the part of Tories and Iroquois for the destruction of Oquaga, Unadilla, Tioga, and other settlements, and revenge of another kind by an irascible Tory named Walter N. Butler.

In the summer of 1777 Butler was captured red-handed behind American lines near Fort Dayton. At the home of Hector Shoemaker, who had been in the King's commission of peace, Butler, ten soldiers and three Mohawk warriors were caught in the treasonous act of persuading colonists to fight the rebels and remain loyal to British rule. Butler was livid at being captured, and during his court marshal as a spy Butler was seriously disruptive and uncooperative. His irascible nature likely hastened the death sentence quickly given by the Court. Soon after, because of family connections, General Benedict Arnold granted Butler a reprieve from death, \but he was thrown into the notorious Albany jail.

Conditions in the jail were worse than bad. Food, what there was of it, was spoiled and wormy, and treatment by jailers cruel and vindictive. Those supporting the rebel cause had little respect for Tories supporting King George. Also, there was hardly a family in the Albany-Mohawk Valley area that had been spared the death of relatives at the hands of Six Nations Indians, Tories or British troops. Jailed Tories did not have an easy time.

Walter got lucky. Years earlier, he had spent months in Albany, reading for the law. He also had many relatives and friends there, and his family was prominent in the area. After spending the fall and winter of 1777 in rough conditions in jail, Walter got a break. He feigned an illness, and at the

request of Butler's family, General Lafayette had Butler's quarters changed to a private house. Only one provincial soldier was assigned to guard the prisoner.

The owners of the house were Tory sympathizers, and they resented the rebels who commandeered their home to make it a private jail. One moonless night, with help from the Butler family and a voluptuous young lady, the guard was plied with strong drink and passed out - drunk. (He later claimed he was "bewitched", and the mystery lady had disappeared!) A horse and supplies were waiting for Walter, and he made his cautious west to join his father at Niagara.

It was a cold ride from Albany to Fort Niagara. Butler had to travel at night to avoid rebel sympathizers and scrounge food and shelter from known Tories along the route. By the time he joined his father, he had made a solemn pledge to extract serious revenge for the harsh treatment he had received during his long months in the Albany Jail.

Butler immediately started laying his plans for revenge. He wrangled command of a detachment of his father's Butler's Rangers plus obtained permission to recruit any Indian he encountered, including any force led by the Mohawk leader, Joseph Brant, if he could be intercepted. While on his way from Niagara to a rendezvous with the Rangers at Tioga, Butler located Brant who was returning to winter-quarters at Niagara. Brant did not like the young Butler. He had little use for the arrogant, evil-tempered Englishman, and was miffed for being given a subordinate position under him. However, they apparently settled their differences and Brant joined his 500 men with Butler's 200 Tories and Indians.

Brant was furious with the colonials for destroying his home and the buildings, crops and food stores at Oquaga. It forced many of his people northward toward Canada. He had planned to winter over at his home and plan raids for the following spring. As it was, he headed toward Fort Niagara with very little food, and many of his men scattered to different villages to join displaced families.

At the Tioga rendezvous, Butler and Brant selected Cherry Valley for their attack. The Seneca name for Cherry Valley was Karightongegh, meaning "Oak Woods". It was a settlement remarkable for its pious inhabitants and spectacular beauty. Unlike many border settlements, the people of Cherry Valley were intelligent and of good moral character. For example, they wouldn't attend meetings of the Tryon County Committee of Safety on Sundays unless, as they wrote, "circumstances would super-exceed the duties to be performed in attending the public worship of God."

However beautiful, Cherry Valley was in an exposed position. The Marquis de Montcalm ordered a fort built there earlier in that spring of 1778.

Command of the fort was given to Colonel Ichabod Alden, an arrogant English officer who led a back-east regiment. He was inexperienced in Indian warfare and most impressed by his own opinion of his abilities. The choice of Ichabod Alden to command "Fort Alden" would prove to be a tragic mistake.

As October wound down, Alden became convinced there would be no concentrated attack on Cherry Valley until possibly the following spring. On November 8th, Alden received a hastily written message from Fort Schuyler, warning that Tories and Indians would attack his post. The message, carried by Captains James Parr and Michael Burd, was brief.

Sir,
We were just now informed by an Oneida Indian (Thomas Spencer) that yesterday an Onondaga Indian arrived at their castle from one of the branches of the Susquehanna, called the Tioga. That he was present at a great meeting of Indians and Tories at that place and their result was to attack Cherry Valley, and that young Butler was to head the Tories. I send you this information that you may be on your guard.
I am Sir, yours, &etc.
Robert Cochrane Major, Commanding

Colonel Ichabod Alden
Fort Alden - Cherry Valley

As it was late in the season, settlers who brought their belongings to the fort for protection that summer had already taken them back to their homes. Now, with the warning, when they asked Colonel Alden for permission to bring their valuables back to the fort, Alden scoffed at the warning, calling it an "idle Indian rumor" and turned them down. He assured the settlers he would ; "...post vigilant scouts and be at all times prepared to warn them of any approaching danger."

On the 9th of November Alden sent scouts in various directions. Those who traveled down the Susquehanna unknowingly walked directly into the face of the enemy. On their third night out, one group of ten made a serious mistake. Sergeant Adam Hunter also didn't believe there would be an attack this late in the season, and was tired of cold, fireless nights. He told his men to build a large fire and they all slept beside it for warmth. They woke up the next morning as prisoners.

Adam Hunter woke up looking into a ring of Tories and Indian faces. Walter Butler recognized the sergeant. Hunter realized in fear that he was looking into the face of the man he once guarded in an Albany home who had escaped and very nearly caused his demotion.

After grilling Hunter and the prisoners for about an hour they got all the information about the settlement they needed, Butler and Brant moved

toward the valley. They camped on top of a thickly evergreened hill about a mile southwest of the village. Snow fell that night, turning to rain by morning. The valley was covered with thick mist and fog. The attackers moved quickly and silently toward the village.

Officers of the garrison were lodged with families near the fort. And, with continued assurances by Colonel Alden that it was too late in the season for an attack, everyone relaxed. Colonel Alden and his Lieutenant-Colonel Stacy stayed with Robert Wells, a respected judge of the county, who was a close friend of Colonel John Butler, (Walter's father). About 20 regular soldiers also stayed at the Wells farm. Knowing where all the officers were staying, the attackers started to infiltrate the village, intending to creep up on the officer's billets. However, on the outskirts of town, an Indian fired at two men, killing one and wounding the other. Although seriously wounded, the survivor rode to the Wells house warning Colonel Alden and sounded the alarm in the village.

Continuing to evidence his arrogance and ignorance, Alden still did not believe it was an attack of force. He insisted it was likely the work of a lone straggler. Before he could call in his scouts or organize a defense, the Indians were upon them.

Unfortunately for the settlers, before entering the village, Butler halted his rangers so they could check their firearms. Their powder was wet. Some reports claim the pause was intentional, allowing the Senecas, the most ferocious of the Six Nations, into the vanguard of the attack. The rangers might have been able to curb some of the Seneca thirst for blood. The evening before Butler had cautioned his men against unwarranted cruelty. Instead, the Senecas immediately surrounded the Wells house, and, with several Tories, slaughtered the entire family. They killed Robert Wells, his wife, his brother and sister, John and Jane, three of his sons, Samuel, Robert, and William and his daughter Eleanor. The only survivor of the family was a son John who was at school in Schenectady. Ironically, Robert Wells had taken his entire family to safety in Schenectady some months before, but returned home when the danger of attack appeared over.

Colonel Alden attempted to escape from the Wells house. He was chased down a road for some distance by an Indian. (The most authoritative source for the incident, J.N. Clyde in his letters claimed, without doubt, that the Indian was Joseph Brant), Brant repeatedly shouted for his surrender. Alden refused, making a fatal mistake by stopping, turning and firing his pistol repeatedly at Brant. His powder was wet, and the pistol misfired each time. Finally, the Mohawk chief hurled his tomahawk hitting Alden in the head, killing him instantly. Brant tore his scalp from him before he hit the ground.

The massacre of the Wells family was particularly barbaric. One story claims one of the Tories boasting he killed the unarmed Mr. Wells as he

prayed. A better source states that Butler killed Wells, which is more likely.

As the Indians broke into the house, Wells's sister, Eleanor, tried to hide in a woodpile . She was intercepted by Little Beard who grabbed her, took his tomahawk from his belt, and aimed his tomahawk at her head. A Tory, ranger Peter Smith, once a servant in the Wells house, jumped in front of the Indian to stop him, claiming she was his sister. Eleanor knew some words of the Mohawk language and begged the Indian for mercy. With one hand, the Iroquois pushed the Tory away from the girl and with the other, buried his weapon in her temple.

The garrison was under daylong assault by Tories and Butler's rangers. The Indians avoided the fort, always fearful of cannon shot, especially grapeshot. They preferred killing, plundering and laying waste to the village and outskirts. They had no opposition, since they outnumbered the garrison force more than two to one. Those inside the fort saw the futility in venturing out to try and stop them.

Other Cherry Valley families who suffered the Indians, and equally vicious Tories, included the Rev. Samuel Dunlop and a Mr. Mitchell. Mrs. Dunlop was killed outright, sharing the fate of her sister, Mrs. Wells. Mr. Dunlop and another daughter would have been murdered but for Little Aaron, a chief of the Oghkwaga branch of Mohawks. Little Aaron led the aged, infirm old man to a doorway, where he stood beside him for protection. Indians tried to take his clothes, but the sachem stopped them. Rev. Dunlop never recovered from the event. His nerves were shattered, and he died within a year of the massacre.

Mr. Mitchell's situation was even more tragic. In the field working when he spotted the Indians, he realized he was cut off from the house. He headed into the woods, hiding until the attackers moved on. When he returned, his house was on fire, and he found his wife and three of their children inside, murdered. His fourth, a girl of ten, although mangled and left for dead, was still alive. After putting out the small house fire, he carried his little girl to the doorway, tending her wounds. He noticed a straggling party of attackers approaching. He just had time to hide, when a Tory sergeant named Newberry ran up to the door, and with a shout, drove his hatchet into the head of the little girl.

Newberry's savagery typified actions of many Tories during this period. Many who supported english rule were especially fearful of losing lands they had cultivated and improved over the years. In many cases their savagery far outstripped that of the Indians. The following summer, by order of General James Clinton, Newberry was executed for his atrocities on the gallows at Canajoharie.

Several other families were cut off by the Indians, and in all, thirty-two settlers of Cherry Valley -- mostly women and children -- were killed. In

addition, sixteen soldiers died. Some of the inhabitants escaped, but many were wounded and/or taken prisoner.

Mrs. Clyde, the wife of Colonel Clyde, who was not in the area at the time, reached the deep woods with all her children except her eldest, m . Abigail, who wasn't to be found. Although the Indians prowled the woods around her, she and the children remained hidden until the next day. Abigail had escaped also, but as she was trying to rejoin her mother the next day, she was intercepted and did not survive. Colonel Colin Campbell was away from the village when the attack started, but hurried home when he heard the alarm gun from the Fort. He arrived to find his property destroyed, a member of his household killed and his wife and four children carried away as prisoners.

The following listing is from a letter in the Draper Manuscripts written Nov.24, 1778 by M. Richey, who arrived a day after the massacre at Cherry Valley. An excerpt from his letter illustrates the of the massacre

"I was never before a spectator of such a scene of distress and horror. The first object that presented was a woman lying with her four children, two on each side of her, all scalped; the next was the wife of the Rev. Mr. Dunlop, likewise scalped, stripped quite naked, and much of her flesh devoured by the Indian dogs. But it would be tedious to mention all the shocking spectacles that were to be seen. I shall only give you the general account as I took it down:"

This is Richey's tabulation of those killed, captured, returned and not returned.

FROM THE HOUSE OF

No. Killed

Prisoners Not returned

Prisoners Returned

Mr. Wells 13 0 2

Mr. Dunlop 3 4 1

Mr. Moon 0 0 4

Mr. Dickson 1 1 0

Mr. Johnston 1 0 0

Mr. McLeland 0 0 3

Mr. Runsey 0 1 4

Mr. Scot 2 5 3

Mr. Mitchel 5 0 2

Mr. Wilson 0 0 1

Mr. Richey 0 0 2

Mr. Lighman 0 3 1

Mr. Maghlan 0 3 0

Mr. More 0 4 0

Mr. Henderson	0	0	1
Mr. Cannon	2	0	1
Col. Colin Campbell	1	0	4
Mr. Campbel	0	5	1
Mr. Bacon	0	8	0
Mr. Shankland	0	2	0
Mr. Hurlbut	4	0	0
Mr. Bagnel	0	5	0
TOTALS	32	40	30

After the attack was over, 182 inhabitants of Cherry Valley were homeless, and all foodstuffs had been destroyed or carried away. It was early in November, and winter was already settling in with freezing weather.

The prisoners were marched double-time two miles south of the Fort the evening of the massacre. Large fires were kindled in a circle and the prisoners were herded into the center for the night. Many were half-clothed and they all huddled together shivering on the wet, cold ground. During the night the Indians divided the spoils, and the march was continued in the morning. A party of Indians returned to the village to search the ruins, BUT were driven off by the arrival of militia reinforcements.

The Indians and prisoners hadn't traveled far that second day when Walter Butler stopped the march. All the prisoners were brought together in a group. Butler told them they would all be released to return to Cherry Valley. There were two exceptions: Mrs. Campbell and her four children and Mrs. Moore and her children. Butler decided to keep them prisoners to punish their husbands for their activities against the King during the border wars.

When Walter Butler and his father fled to Canada, his mother and her younger children had been left behind. The Committee of Safety held them, and permission to follow the husband and son to Canada had been repeatedly denied. The returned prisoners were given a letter Butler wrote to General Schuyler, dated November 12, 1778.

"Sir,

I am induced by humanity to permit the persons whose names I send herewith, to return, lest the inclemency of the season, and their naked and helpless situation, might prove fatal to them, and expect that you will release an equal number of our people in your hands, amongst whom I expect you will permit Mrs. Butler and family to come to Canada; but if you insist upon it, I do engage to send you, moreover, an equal number of prisoners of yours, taken either by Rangers or Indians, and leave it to you to name the persons. I have done everything in my power to restrain the fury of the Indians from hurting women and children, or killing the prisoners who fell into our hands, and would have more effectively prevented them, but they were much incensed by the late destruction of their village of Anguaga (Unadilla)

by your people. I shall always continue to act in that manner. I look upon it beneath the character of a soldier to wage war with women and children. I am sure you are conscious that Colonel Butler or myself have no desire that your women or children should be hurt. But, be assured, that if you persevere in detaining my father's family with you, that we shall no longer take the same pains to restrain the Indians from prisoners, women and children, that we have heretofore done."

I am your humble servant,
Walter N. Butler
Capt. of the Rangers"

(Butler neglects to mention the fact that women and children made up the majority of those killed at Cherry Valley.)

With most of their prisoners released, Butler, Brant and the Indians continued on down the Susquehanna to its confluence with the Tioga, then headed up that river to Seneca country and on to Niagara. Mrs. Cannon, an aged lady, and mother of Mrs. Campbell, was too old to keep up. On the second day, exhausted, an Indian tomahawked her as she stood beside her daughter. On their return to Niagara, the Indians killed an English family named Braxton, who lived on Butternut Creek, reducing their buildings to ashes.

For generations, Joseph Brant has been accused of ordering the atrocities at Cherry Valley. On the contrary, early documents show he was not in command of the raid, and in fact did his best to save inhabitants from the axe. However, even if he had been in command, it is doubtful he could have produced a more humane result. Walter Butler was in command and made that fact clear to everyone. When Walter's father heard about the murder of the Wells family, he was shocked at his son's conduct. "I would have gone miles on my hands and knees to save that family, and why my son did not do it, God only knows." The senior Butler then accused Joseph Brant of secretly ordering the Indians to the bloody massacre to bring shame on his son's name and in retribution for not being given command.

Tracing Brant's actions during the attack as reported by eyewitnesses, we learn that Brant tried to prevent much of the bloodshed. On the morning of the attack, Brant left the main body of Indians, heading for the Wells house to protect the family. He had known the Wells family for years. On his way to the house, he had to cross a wide plowed field, which slowed his progress. He arrived at the house too late.

When he entered another house, he found a woman working in her kitchen.

"Are you thus engaged," the chief asked, "while all your neighbors are murdered around you?" The woman replied they were under the protection of the King.

"That plea will not avail you today", replied the warrior. "They have murdered Mr. Well's family, and they were as dear to me as my own."

"But", continued the woman, "there is one Joseph Brant: if he is with the Indians, he will save us."

"I am Joseph Brant", was the quick reply, "but I have not the command, and I know not that I can save you, but will do what is in my power."

Brant then saw the saw a group of Senecas approaching. "Get into bed quick," he ordered, "and feign yourself sick."

When the Senecas came up, he put them off with that pretext. When they left, with a shrill call he brought a group of his Mohawks , telling them to mark the women and children with his mark. "You're probably safe now," he said. (Quotes taken from W.L.Stone, Vol I, page 380-90)

After the battle was over, Brant asked one of the prisoners if Captain McKean was in the village, but McKean had retired to the Mohawk Valley earlier that year.

Brant said, "He sent me a challenge once, and I have now come to accept it. He is a fine soldier thus to retreat!"

A prisoner replied, ;"Captain McKean would not turn his back upon an enemy where there was a probability of success."

"I know it,"; replied Brant, "he is a brave man and I would have given more to take him than any other man in Cherry Valley: but I would not have hurt a hair on his head."

For generations Joseph Brant has been accused of being the vicious, bloodthirsty ringleader of the Massacre of Cherry Valley. However, there are too many indications that Walter Butler was carrying out his pledge of vengeance for his treatment in the Albany jail. For example, Butler has been charged that on the night before the battle, some of his rangers wanted to secretly warn their friends in the village of the pending attack, but Butler refused to allow it. He didn't want anyone to escape the attack. Butler also stopped his rangers short of the village, ordering them to replace the powder in their weapons. Butler knew full well the Senecas would take that opportunity to start the massacre. He made no effort to stop them.

Walter N. Butler was shot, wounded and then tomahawked by an Oneida Indian on October 24, 1781, in the last important engagement of the Revolutionary War. After the Battle of Johnstown, Indians pursued Butler as he fled the field. He was shot and killed a few miles above Herkimer as he crossed West Canada Creek.

New York Military in the Revolution
Ancestry.com

State of New York Tryon County. An Account of the Damages which Samuel Campbell of Cherry Valley have Sustained by the Enemy on the Eleventh of November 1778.

£ S D

To one Dwelling house burnt 150
To Two barns burnt 150
To two horses taken away 30
To two mears and one Coalt away 20
To one Cow taken away 5
To one beef burnt 5
To four fat hogs killed 12
To one Negro boy carried off 50
To one Waggon burnt 7
To one Slay and Harness burnt 6
To thirty Loads of hay burnt 30
To wheat and peas and oats burnt in the Straw 50
To Corn and Potatoes and flax burnt 10
To one watch taken away 6
To two Sadls and bridles carryed off 5 10
To Cloathing and house all furniture burt or carryed off 200
To Cash taken away 60
Jany. 25, 1782. £ 795 10 0
Saml. Campbell [Col.]

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

TAYLOR AND DUFFIN TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Niagara
1 December 1778

Since the arrival of Lieutenant Hare from Captain Butler, who is on his way here, the Commanding Officer has concluded to send down the sloop Caldwell to winter there. The news which Lieutenant Hare brings is that though the rebels in the fort at Cherry Valley were apprised of Captain Butler's being with the Rangers and Indians hovering about the frontiers with a design to make a descent on some places but which or where they did not know, that they

therefore sent out three different scouts.

Captain Butler came upon the tracks of one of them, sent a party after them, surprised them and took them all (nine in number).

He got quite near the fort undiscovered and rushed up to it with design to storm it, but owing to a misunderstanding did not. The Rangers thought the Indians meant to go forward and the Indians waited for the Rangers.

The rebels at this time were most of them out of the fort without the least suspicion of there being any danger; most of their officers were lodged out of it into houses almost joining it.

Captain Butler's people were soon discovered from it and were fired upon. At this time there was not above fifty men and a Major and two inferior officers in it, but the people on being alarmed made to the fort and as many got in a short time as made it about three hundred strong.

The Rangers and Indians fell to and destroyed all the houses outside the fort immediately and all the cattle and every thing else beside which was in their way.

Next day, Captain Butler sent Lieutenant Turney with a flag to the fort, but he was fired upon from it.

Captain Butler not being able to do anything more concluded to come away with all his Rangers and the Indians, the former have one man wounded and the latter two, but none of them dangerously, which was all the loss they sustained.

The killed about 50 rebels and have about 30 prisoners, amongst whom is a Lieutenant Colonel. However, we should not have called all those which were killed rebels, as Captain Hare says many of them were good friends to Government. Neither many of the Rangers nor any of the Indians know one from the other.

Major Wells and family, thirteen in number, were all killed; however, it is thought he was a very good friend to Government.

The rebel officers had chose this hour to hold their Mess, at it was there too that a number were surprised and killed. One of them was a full Colonel.

Mr Joseph Brant, not being at all satisfied with what had been done at Cherry Valley, after having come part of the way in here with Captain Butler, he went back with seven Indians to burn Henickle Herkimer's house and to bring off a prisoner. Notwithstanding, we expect he will be as soon in here as Captain Butler, for he hath said himself he expected he would.

National Archives of Canada. Claus Papers, MG 19, F1, Vol 25.

CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
OF THE CONTINENTAL FORCES

Niagara
18 February 1779

I have received a letter dated the 2nd January last signed by you in answer to mine of the 12th November. Its contents I communicated to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, the Commanding Officer of this garrison, &c, by whom I am directed to acquaint you that he has no objection an exchange of prisoners, as mentioned in your letter, should take place, but not being fully empowered by His Excellency, General Haldimand, to order the same immediately to be put into execution, has though proper I should go down to the Commander in Chief for his direction in the matter.

In the meantime, Colonel Butler (as he has done on every occasion) will make every effort in his power to have all the prisoners, as well those belonging to your troops as the women and children in captivity among the different Indian Nations, collected and sent to this post to be forwarded to Crown Point should the exchange take place by way of Canada, or to Oswego, if settled there. In either case, Colonel Bolton desires me to inform you that the prisoners shall receive from him what assistance their wants may require - - which prisoners have at all times received at this post.

The disagreeable situation of your people in the Indian villages, as well as our among you, will induce me to make all the exertion in my power to Canada in order that the exchange may be settled as soon as possible for the good of both.

I make no doubt His Excellency, General Haldimand, will acquiesce in the proposed exchange. The season of the year renders it impossible to take place before the 10th or 15th of May next; however, I will write you by the way of Crown Point, General Haldimand's determination and when and where the exchange would be most agreeable to him to be made.

I could wish Mrs Butler and family, including Mrs Sheehan and son and Mrs Wall, were permitted to go to Canada in the spring, even should the exchange be fixed at Ontario.

It's not our present business, Sir, to enter into an altercation or to reflect on the conduct of either the British or Continental Forces, or on that of each other; but since you have charged (on report, I must suppose)

the British officers in general with inhumanity, and Colonel Butler and myself in particular, in justice to them and in vindication of his and my own honour and character, I am under the disagreeable necessity to declare the charge unjust and void of truth, and which can only tend to deceive the world, though a favourite cry of the Congress on every occasion, whether founded on truth or no.

We deny any Cruelties to have been committed at Wyoming, either by whites or Indians. So far to the contrary, that not a man, woman or child was hurt after the capitulation, or a woman or child before it, or taken into captivity. Though should you call it inhumanity the killing of men in arms in the field, we in that case can plead guilty.

The inhabitants killed at Cherry Valley does not lay at my door, my conscience acquits me.

If any are guilty (as accessories), it's yourselves, at least the conduct of some of your officers. First Colonel Hartley of your Forces sent to the Indians the enclosed, being a copy of his letter, charging them with crimes they never committed and threatening them and their villages with fire and sword and no quarter. The burning of their villages then inhabited only by a few families your friends, who imagined they might remain in peace and friendship with you, till assured a few hours before the arrival of your troops that they should not even receive quarter, took to the woods; and to complete the matter, Colonel Denniston and his people again appearing in arms with Colonel Hartley after a solemn engagement not to bear arms during the war.

And Colonel Denniston not performing his promise to release a number of soldiers belonging to Colonel Butler's Corps of Rangers then prisoners among you, were the reasons assigned by the Indians to me, after the destruction of Cherry Valley for their not acting in the same manner as at Wyoming. They added that being charged by the enemies with what they never had done and threatened by them, they had determined to convince you it was not fear that prevented them from committing the one, and that they did not want spirit to put your threats against them in force against yourselves.

The prisoners sent back by me, or any now in our or the Indians' hands, but must declare I did everything in my power to prevent the Indians killing the prisoners, or taking women and children captive or in any wise injuring them.

Colonel Stacey and several other officers of yours will acquit me and must further declare they have received every assistance before and since their arrival at this post that could be got to relieve their wants.

I must, however, beg leave, by the by, to observe that I experienced no humanity or even common justice during my imprisonment with you.

Apr 16, 2009

I enclose you a list of officers and privates whom I should be glad were exchanged likewise.

The list of the families we expect for those as well sent back as others in our hands, you have likewise enclosed.

Colonel Stacey and several other officers, and others, your people, are at this post and have leave to write.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Haldimand Collection, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

Period Documents Concerning the Cherry Valley Attack

Butler's Military Correspondence

<http://www.rootsweb.com/~nyherkim/regiments/butlerletters.html>

Haldimand Papers Add. Mss. No. 21,760, folios 77-80 Transcribed by Judy Longley from microfilm of the Haldimand Papers in possession of the British Library, London; courtesy of Public Archives of Canada

Onendella Novr 17th 1778

Sir, After a tedious and fatiguing March our Party, composed of the Rangers and 321 Indian Warriors encamped on the Evening of the 10th Inst. within about six Miles of the Settlement, having the Day before taken a rebel scout consisting of a Serg't & eight Privates, from whom we learned that a Colonel Alden with 300 continental Troops occupied a picqueted Fort, erected for the Defence of the Settlement, and that the Militia of the Place were computed at 150; that the Enemy had Notice of our Approach two days before by Means of an Oneyda Indian; and also that the colonel with his principal officers usually lodged at an House about 400 yards from the Fort. There conven'd the Indian Chiefs and proposed to them that, as in all Probability the Enemy, tho informed of our Coming, were not apprised of our being so near there, we should as soon as the moon rose, march directly into the Settlement and with a Party surround the House and take the officers, while the main Body of Rangers & Indians endeavoured to surprize the Fort: to this they unanimously agreed, but in the mean Time an heavy Rain falling and continuing all Night so much discouraged the Indians that I could not get them to move till Day Light, when it was resolved that Capt. McDonald with two Subalterns and fifty

chosen Rangers Should march with the Body of the Indians, and with one Party surround the House and cut off the Communication between the Fort & Inhabitants, while the other began the Attack upon the Fort, which I was to support with the main Body of Rangers. We came unperceived till within about a Mile of the Fort, when the Indians made a Halt and two of them unknown to the rest advanced and fired upon two Men cutting Wood, one of whom tho' wounded made his Escape and alarmed the officers at the House of whom the Major and a few others had Time to get safe into the Fort, many more in attempting to do the same were killed, and the rest taken Prisoners, at the house by the Indians who had immediately rushed forward on the Report of the guns.

The Persons killed were the Colonel, 2 Captains, 2 Lieut'ts, one Ensign & 20 Privates; the Prisoners a Lieutenant Colonel, a Lieut., an Ensign, the Surgeon's Mate, & 10 Privates. The Colours of the Regiment were burnt in the House.

Although our Design of surprising the Fort was thus frustrated, we nevertheless made an Attempt firing upon it for the Space of ten minutes, at about 70 yards Distance, which was briskly returned both by their Musquetry and Cannon, when finding it inaccessible on this Part, I moved with the Rangers to explore the other Side, destroying in our Way a Block-House which the Rebels had abandoned at our Approach. But perceiving the Indians dispersed over the Settlement, killing and taking Prisoner the Inhabitants, plundering and destroying the Buildings &c., I found it absolutely necessary to move again with the whole of the Rangers, and take Possession of an Eminence, which commanded the Fort on the Side we first attacked, in order to prevent a Sally while the Indians were scattered as aforesaid. We remained in this Position till late in the Evening, tho it rained incessantly; we then retired about a Mile further and there passed the Night; the greatest part of the Houses, Barns &c. in the Settlement, together with the continental Store, being burnt, and a great Number of Cattle killed and driven off by the Indians. The next morning I sent Cap't McDonald with sixty Rangers, accompanied by Mr. Brant with fifty Indians, to compleat the Destruction of the Place, while the other Indians with the weakest of the Rangers went off with the Cattle. I remained myself with the Rest of the Rangers to support Cap't McDonald in Case of a Sally, having Men continually going to and from the Fort to give me Notice of all the Enemies Motions, until Cap't McDonald returned after intirely desolating the Settlement and adding a large drove of Horses & Cattle to those already taken. The Garrison all the while coop'd within their Breast-Works remained Spectators of our Depredations which they made no Attempts to interrupt. After having in vain endeavoured to draw them out of the Fort, and finding it not practicable, with our Force to take it, we thought proper to retire and leave it, the only remaining Building amidst the Ruins of the Place.

I have much to lament, that notwithstanding my utmost Precaution and

Apr 16, 2009

Endeavours to save the Women and Children, I could not prevent some of them falling unhappy Victims to the Fury of the Savages. They have carried off many of the Inhabitants Prisoners and killed more; among the latter is a Coln. Cloyd a very violent Rebel.

I could not prevail with the Indians to leave the Woman and children behind. On the second Morning of our March Cap't Johnston (to whose Knowledge of the Indians and Address in managing I am much indebted,) and I got them to permit twelve, who were Loyalists, and whom I had concealed the first Day with the humane Assistance of Mr. Joseph Brant & Cap't Jacobs of Ockquaga, to return.

The Death of the Women and Children upon this Occasion may I believe be truly ascribed to the Rebels having falsely accused the Indians of Cruelty at Weyomen; this had much exasperated them, and they were still more incensed at finding the Colonel and those Men who had there laid down their Arms, soon after, marching into their County intending to destroy their Villages, and they declared they would no more be falsely accused, or fight the Enemy twice; meaning that they would not in future give Quarter.

I am informed by the Lieu't Colonel Prisoner and the enclosed Letter that the British Troops were about to leave New York (the Provincials in Government Bay remaining to guard that Place) and go to Boston. I am also told by one Anderson who had been Prisoner in Albany, and only eleven Days from that Place, that they had Accounts there, that the Troops who had left N. York were landed below Boston, and that there were large Reinforcements commanded by Gen'ls Howe and Burgoyne landed at N. York, that an english Fleet had burned Egg Harbour and all the Rebels Shipping at that Place, and that the Rebels at Albany were making Preparations for a secret Expedition, said by the Friends of Government there to be intended against Carleton Island in the Winter; I am likewise informed by him and several of the Prisoners that the Rebels intend to invade the Indian Country in the Spring, with an Army of three Thousand Men. How far these Reports may be relied on I cannot say, but it were to be wished that in order to keep the Indians in Spirits and attach them more firmly to our Interest, a Fort were erected and supported at Oswego: indeed the Indians expect it will be done.

It gives me Pleasure that I can mention with Truth the Alertness of the officers in general and Cap't McDonald in particular, whose Activity and Spirit on every Occasion does him much Honour and to whose Conduct I am much indebted.

The Men are in better Health and Spirits that could be expected from the Fatigues and Hardships they have undergone. I shall march without Delay to Quarters, and hope you'll send Provisions and other Necessaries to meet us. We are happy in not having lost a Man; our fife Major one Private and three Indians only wounded.

Historical Magazine

April 1869 pg. 276-7

John Dain—11 Nov 1778

Extract from his orderly-book
on the Cherry Valley, NY, massacre
during the Revolutionary War

ATTACK ON CHERRY-VALLEY.

The following extract is taken from the Orderly-book of John Dain, of Royalsborough, (Freeport,) Maine, a Sergeant in Colonel Ichabod Alden's Regiment, at this place, 1778-79.

Some account of the atrocities committed by the British and Indians in this region, may be found in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for April, 1868, p. 248, in the deposition of Moses Younglove. Colonel Alden was in the habit of sleeping in the village, and thus fell a victim to his own sense of security, while the fort was not taken. A "Roll" of the killed, wounded and missing, by "Isaac Glenny, Commander at the Fort," is preserved with this book, giving the names of the heads of families, among the inhabitants, who thus fell under the power of the enemy; stating that forty-two of the villagers were killed; two wounded; seventy-one made prisoners, of whom forty were sent back.

A narrative of this attack would be interesting. Has one in detail ever been published?

E. B.

"BRUNSWICK, MAINE."

"FORT ALDEN November the 11. 1778

"this Morning About ten a Clock the Enemy
"Surrounded the Fort The Number of them we
"Cannott tell We think thare Was betweain
"Seven or Eight hundred of them Endion and
"toreys Ia the first plase thay Killed the Cheaf

"Col* and took the Lef* Col* Prisoners And
"Likewise Lef* holden Ensign Garrett and the
"Doctors mate Prisoners With them—Samuel
"procter, Samuel Woodsom Charls hudman and
"Joseph Smith that Went outt A Scoutt the Day
"before this was took Prisoners With them Like
"wise Was a Good many more belonging to S^e
"Redg^t the Enemy Is Killed A Good maney
"of our men Which we have found all Rendeys be-
"sides Sevearl more mising all thay Killed Belong-
"ing to our Reg^t thay used in the Most Barboous
"Maner And Also all the Enhabbittance Men
"Women and Children thay Used in the same
"Manner."

John Dain - From Maureen (Veatch is her uncle)

Maureen's note: Information below from *Blue Book* Vol. II, letter from Mrs. Thomas S. Gibbon, 677 Washington, St. Bath, ME. Emery Veatch obtained this letter written to Auta Helvey Purcell of Fairbury, Jefferson County, NE, from Auta. It has since been typed, probably by Lucille Veatch Barnes, and I have a carbon copy. See also National Archives documents shared by Nancy LeCompte, who is a descendant of **Samuel Proctor senior, junior & III**.

“Before me is a M.S.S. written by **John Dain** and dated 1781. It bears the features of antiquity in appearance, and its contents are now given to the reading public. It will be preserved, and undoubtedly be of use in the hereafter as well as affording pleasure in its perusal at this time, for we live in the age of scrapbooks.

“Of the parentage of the veteran soldier I have no knowledge. He spent his latter days on a farm and died at the ripe age of 86 years Aug. 7, 1837. **Elisabeth Proctor** his wife was born near Prides Bridge in Westbrook, Maine, died Sept. 16, 1838 being married Feb. 24, 1778. In 1846 his heirs were John and Samuel Dain and Sarah Plummer (wife of **Lemuel D. Plummer**). Upon the death of **John Dain** (Jr.) the Revolutionary soldier, (sons) John (III) and Samuel Dain bought property in Portland, Maine, Samuel at Union and Fore Sts. and went into trade but soon returned to Lisbon, Maine. John Dain (III) esq. bought land on Portland St. near Preble where he built a brick dwelling house and shop (still standing) where he lived nearly fifty years. His wife's name was Hannah Proctor. Female descendants of the Dain family still survive in Portland.

“After referring to the dates when enlisted and under whom he served, that he was in the Artillery under Capt. Lowell in defense of Portland (then Falmouth) and after stating briefly when and where the enemy was met, **John Dain** with his own hands records: ‘By request of Gen. Sullivan, who had command 4000 troops with whom we united our forces, we agreed to draw only 1/2 allowance, to lengthen out our provisions. We marched 170 miles by the side of Susquehanna River, the Indians and Tories fleeing before us. We burnt 44 Indian towns, then returned on October 1 to Wyoming, the 1st English town on the river, then to Easton, thence to North River and on to West Point the 15th of November. Our regiment was put into winter quarters, but the barracks being full, there was no room for us. It was a hard cold winter. We had to bring our wood 1 1/2 miles from Rock Mt. being a hard service indeed, this addition to the hardships with my brother soldiers, the summer past while in the Indian campaign, from the middle of June to Oct. 1 with only one suit of clothes, in the wilderness without houses or tents, only the heavens to cover our heads, and this only a part of the hardships our soldiers met with.

“Numbers died on the march for want of food, and those who lived through it never received their retained rations, nor clothes nor the 4£ 103 endorsed on our bounty notes when receiving our guns and equipment; and when we were discharged or before we were discharged any pay or order on the State Treasury. This was the way the soldiers were wronged. In regard to our pay in continental money, it had so depreciated that when I was discharged at West Point Feb. 9, 1780, by Col. John Brooks, who is now governor, a months' pay would not buy a meal in some places. I had to pay \$250 for a pair of deerskin breeches. In the year 1777 wool sold at Cambridge for \$3.50, next June wool was \$30 per lb. coffee \$19, sugar \$6, a pot \$75, flatirons \$111. My goods were burned while I was in the army, also lost my health and land by depreciation of money.

“It was Feb. 7, 1777 when I received an order from Capt. Dan. Lane to enlist men and the promise of a commission as ensign. I enlisted 20 men and marched a part of them to Cambridge, then called on Capt. Lane for my commission but he had given it to Joseph Charis. He did though give me a sergeant's berth which I held three years.’

“The paper is dated at Lisbon, Maine April 6, 1818, and endorsed by Ezekiel Thompson, selectman in Lisbon and Joseph Thompson. One of **John Dain's** requests was that a statement he had prepared should be published in the *Easton Argus* at his death, which was done but it is not found.

A History, with notation: ‘wrote by John Dain at the age of 84’

“A history of my services in the Revolutionary War by me, **John Dain**. In the year 1775, I was 8 months with Capt. Larabee at Harpswell; 2 mos. with Captain Boston at Cambridge to drive Gen. Howe out of Boston Feb. to March 1776. then 9 months with Capt. L. Howell in Artillery at Portland in 1776. On Feb. 7, 1777 took orders from Capt. Dan. Lane as sergeant to enlist men in his Co., in Col. Alden's regiment, served 3 years in that company. I was at the taking of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga Oct. 17 under Gen. Gates and Arnold. 7000 men taken. Then in 1778 Col. Alden's regiment at Cherry Valley was attacked Nov. 11 by Col

Brandt with 7 tribes of Indians and Col. Butler and Niagara with a regiment of Tories. We fought 3 days and nights. They burned the town, nearly killed Col. Alden, took Col Stacey and a number of prisoners and killed many people and drove off cattle and horses loaded with goods. In June 1779 we joined Gen. Poor's brigade down 130-170 miles on Susquehanna river burning Indian towns to Troga (Tioga). Joined Sullivan's army, marched to New Semung (Chemung); engaged all day Col. Brandt's 7 tribes of Indians and Col. Butler's Tories. Drove them off at night. Then drove them 170 miles by the Genesee and Seneca Lakes, and burnt 44 Indian towns. Got out of food. Returned Oct. 1 to East Town then Nov. 15 to West Point. Then Feb. 9, 1780 was discharged by Col. John Brooks, successor to Col. Alden. Returned without money and on charity of the people.”

Comment by Nancy LeCompte on the two versions above: “I found it interesting to note that someone at the national archives (or perhaps the original newspaper) seems to have censored the material written by **John Dain** that was published after his death. You originally sent me transcripts of what he wrote, the original manuscript (or transcript of it) you got from your uncle, I think. In it, **John** is very bitter about the money issue and how the soldiers were treated at the end of their enlistment. However, the version included in the response written to the woman in NY that is included in his pension (last 3 pages of the PDF file) has been toned down, and even though they must have had a copy of the article on hand, that copy is not included in his pension file. My guess is that someone believed his comments were unpatriotic and the public didn't need to know how our soldiers were treated by our government. Far too much of this shit has occurred in history - someone deciding to protect us from a truth that doesn't fit their idea of how we should remember the past - to the point that most of our history books are useless. This is subject that I deal with every day in my work on the Maine Indians and it always get me fired up when I find examples of this practice of censoring our past.” (Nancy LeCompte's 7 Oct 2006 e-mail)

POUGHKEEPSIE, Nov. 23.

By accounts, tho' not circumstantial, from the northward, the enemy have struck us in that quarter another blow, which they had long threatened, and we had reason to expect, but seem to have made no more advantage of the intimations than if we had heard nothing at all of the matter.—A body of the enemy, consisting of, about 700 Savages and Tories, under the command of Brant and Butler, with a company of British soldiers came down to Cherry-Valley, which they entirely destroyed, massacred several of the inhabitants, men, women and children indiscriminately, with Col. Alden, of the Continental Army, some officers and privates of his regiment; and made prisoners of Lieut. Col. Stacey (of the same regiment) with a number of the inhabitants, men and women, whom they carried off with them, after having invested and attacked Fort Alden, (a small picket fort in Cherry-Valley) without effect.

On Thursday night

Dec 3 From an officer who was in the fort at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11th, when it was attacked, we have the following account, viz.

On Saturday night 8th November, an express arrived from Fort Stanwix, informing that an Oneida Indian had acquainted them that he sat in Council in the Seneca country with the Six Nations, and other tribes, and that they had concluded to attack Fort Alden, in Cherry Valley. On Sunday morning a serjeant and 12 men were sent on the road by Beaver Dam, towards the enemy, to continue five days; another scout with a non-commissioned officer, and five men were sent on the road to Springfield, to continue four days. These two roads being the only avenues from the enemy's country to this place, except an old Indian path which had been neglected by us; at the same time we sent by the same roads scouts in the morning, which returned at night. On Wednesday the 11th, it rained very hard, the enemy came by the above-mentioned path, past by two houses, and lodged themselves in a swamp a small distance back of Mr. Wells's house, headquarters; half past eleven A. M. Mr. Hamlin came by and discovered two Indians, who fired upon him and shot him through the arm; he rode to Mr. Wells's and acquainted the Colonel, the Lieut. Colonel, Major and Adjutant, being present, the two last (the house at this time being surrounded by Indians) got to the fort through their fire, the Colonel was shot near the fort; the enemy, 800 in number, consisting of 500 Indians commanded by Brant, 50 regulars under Capt. Colvill, and another Captain with some of Johnson's rangers, and above 200 Tories, the whole under Col. Butler's command, immediately surrounded the fort, excluding several officers who were quartered out of the garrison and had gone to dinner; they commenced a very heavy fire on the fort, which held three and an half hours, and was as briskly returned; they were so near as to call to the fort and bid the damn'd rebels surrender, which was answered with three cheers and a discharge of cannon and musquetry; at four, P. M. the enemy withdrew, Capt. Ballard sallied out with a party, which the enemy endeavoured to cut off, but were prevented by a reinforcement; the next day they made it their whole business to collect horses, cattle and sheep, which they effected, and at sunset left the place. On Friday morning the fort was reinforced by 800 militia. The enemy killed, scalp'd, and most barbarously murdered 32 inhabitants, chiefly women and children, also Col. Alden, and the following soldiers of his regiment, viz. Robert Henderson, Gideon Day, Thomas Sherridan, Pelletiah Adams, Simeon Hopkins, Benjamin Worcelly, Thomas Holden, Daniel Dudley, Thomas Knowles and Oliver Deball.—The following officers were taken prisoners, viz. Lieutenant Colonel Stacey, Lieut. Aaron Holden, Ensign Garret, Surgeon's mate, Francis Souza de Bierre, and 13 privates—burnt 24 houses with all the grain, &c. took above 60 inhabitants prisoners, part of whom they released on going off. They committed the most inhuman barbarities on most of the dead. Robert Henderson's head was cut off, his skull bone was cut out with the scalp—Mr. Willis's sister was rip't up, a child of Mr. Willis's 2 months old, scalp'd and arm cut off—the clergyman's wife's leg and arm cut off, and many others as cruelly treated. Many of the inhabitants and soldiers shut out from the fort, lay all night in the rain with children, which suffered very much. The cattle that were not easy to drive they shot. We were informed by the prisoners that they sent back, that the Lieutenant Colonel, all the officers and Continental soldiers were stript and drove naked before them.

The fort was commanded by the brave Major Whiting of Dedham, and the two cannon under the direction of the brave Capt. Hickling, of this town, who was chief engineer in building the fort, and whose assistance contributed in saving of it.

B O N M O T.

Extract of a letter from Tryon County, Nov. 24.

' I have had no opportunity to give you an earlier account of the destruction at Cherry-Valley, where I arrived the day after the tragedy was acted, and did not return home till last night, having been busied in collecting and burying the dead, and getting the distressed inhabitants brought off. I was never before spectator of such a scene of distress and horror. The first object that presented, was a woman lying with her four children, two on each side of her, all scalped; the next was the wife of the Rev. Mr. Dunlasp, likewise scalped, stripped quite naked, and much of her flesh devoured by the Indian dogs. But it would be tedious to mention all the shocking spectacles that were to be seen. I shall only give you the general account as I took it down.

Providence Gazette - 2-Jan-1779

No. killed.	Prisoners returned.	Prisoners not returned.
Twenty-three.	Thirty.	Forty.

' The persons numbered were some of them wounded, some carried away, and some killed.

' Besides these there were two men wounded, who were not carried away.

' Burned. 32 houses, 31 barns, 1 grist-mill, 1 fulling-mill, 1 blacksmith's shop.

' Besides the foregoing, Colonel Alden, in the Continental service, and ten rank and file, were killed; Lieut. Col. Stacy was taken prisoner, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Surgeon's Mate, 1 Sergeant, and 13 rank and file are missing.

' Of the wretched surviving inhabitants, there are 182 who have neither house nor home, nor a morsel of bread; are almost naked, and a great part of them without a penny to purchase any of the necessities of life: And in all this massacre, there were but three men of the place killed, all the rest being helpless women and children. A great part of the sufferers, both killed and prisoners, were people much suspected of tory principles, and greatly depended on protection from Brant and Butler, who conducted this bloody and inhuman business, which was perpetrated on the 11th inst. and on the 20th they made an excursion to another settlement, called the Coile (on the road from Fort-Planck to Lake-Alsago, between Springfield and Andrewstown, which were destroyed in the summer) at this settlement they burnt 5 houses, and carried off 6 prisoners. We have now not one settlement left in this county, at any distance from the south side of the Mohawk river, and have the greatest reason to fear, that in a very short time we shall not have one on it, unless very speedy and effectual measures are taken to check the savages, and worse than savage tories. The prisoners who are returned inform us that the party was commanded by Joseph Brant, Walter Butler, and the Seneca Chief, and consisted of 443 Indians, and 200 tories, many of which horrid miscreants were inhabitants of Cherry-Valley, and some whose parents were living there.'

Cherry-Valley, November 12, 1778.

S I R,

Butler's Letter after the affair

I AM induced by humanity, to permit the prisoners, whose names I send you herewith, to remain, lest the inclemency of the weather, and their naked situation, should prove fatal to them; and expect that you will relieve an equal number of our people in your hands; amongst whom I expect you will permit Mrs. Butler, and family, to come to Canada: But if you insist upon it, I do engage to send you, moreover, an equal number of yours, taken either by the Indians or Rangers; and will leave it to you to name the prisoners. I have done every thing in my power to restrain the Indians in their fury, from hurting women and children, or killing the prisoners who fell into our hands; and would have more effectually prevented them, but they were too much enraged by the late destruction of their village Onohoghguago, by your people; and shall always continue to act in the same manner—as I look upon it beneath the character of a soldier, to wage war with women and children. I am sure that you are conscious that Col. Butler or myself have any desire that your women or children should

be hurt: But be assured, that if you persevere in detaining my father's family with you, that we shall no longer take the same pains, in restraining the Indians from making prisoners of women and children, as we have heretofore done.

I am Sir, your humble servant.

WALTER BUTLER,

(Capt. of the Rangers)

To General SCHUYLER, Albany.

History
OF
CHERRY VALLEY

From 1740 to 1898.

BY
JOHN SAWYER.

CHERRY VALLEY, N. Y.
GAZETTE PRINT.
1898.

CHAPTER III.

CHERRY VALLEY AT THE TIME OF THE MASSACRE.

At the time of the Massacre the Fort and the village of Cherry Valley, if it may be called a village, comprising as it did only half a dozen houses and a church,—was situated in and around the present Cemetery at the lower end of the village and at the upper end of a valley, resembling a Roman Amphitheater in shape: being, apparently, about six miles in length by one mile in width, and surrounded on all sides by gracefully sloping, wooded hills. As a strict matter of fact the valley continues to the South, until it joins the larger valley of the Susquehanna, but it turns sharply to the right where the Westford hills rise, a mile or two below the village of Roseboom, and is so hidden from view by the hills that it appears to end with them. The hills to the North of the village over-look the Mohawk Valley; the streams on that side seeking the Ocean by way of the Mohawk, while those on the South side mingle with the waters of the Susquehanna. Some older geographers have contended that the latter river has its source in the Cherry Valley hills instead of in Otsego Lake.

On the hill at the upper end of the valley, in a direct line from the Fort stood the log house of Col. Samuel Campbell, on the site of the residence now occupied as a summer home by his great-great-grand-children; a half mile to the east and on the same level was the house and shop of James Moore, the blacksmith of the settlement, on the lands now owned by Elisha Flint, and North of him lived a Nelson family. About the same distance to the North of Col. Campbell's was the home of his father-in-law, Matthew Cannon, (disputed); while at an equal distance to the West, was the home of John Campbell, now the summer home of the writer. The present Jackson Millson farm was then occupied by a James Campbell.

On the road to the West, leading to Springfield, lived the Rev. Samuel Dunlop at the foot of Livingston's Glen, on the lands of Mrs A. B. Cox. There is a tradition that further up the Glen there was a sort of flax or carding mill, in which lived the family of the owner, whose name is not given. Following the Springfield road: the McClellans occupied the present Chauncey Steenburgh farm; James and William Campbell the Fred Blumenstock farm; the Coonrads, the farm now owned by Richard Bierman; the Culleys the farm now occupied by C. W. Sherman and the Shanklands the Elijah Bush farm; Capt. M'Keàn lived on the James Horton place and had the M'Kowns as neighbors. The Wiggy Willsons, so called, from the fact that the head of the family

wore a wig, to distinguish them from the other Willson family, lived in Irish Hollow.

The Wells lived on a knoll about a third of a mile South of the Fort, on the present Phelon farm, and on the hill to the West, on the farm now owned by a descendant, Capt. James D. Clyde, was the home of Major Clyde. Further on were the McKellips on the present James Wikoff farm. Down the valley to the South of the Wells lived the Gaults on the Frank Campbell farm and the Dicksons on the present Mrs. Geo. Head farm. On the opposite side of the valley, on the farm now occupied by a descendant, Louis G. Willson, lived John and James Willson, and South of them the Scotts, on the Wikoff farm.

Nearly opposite the Fort, on the East side of the valley, lived the Thompsons, on the knoll near the Sulphur Spring; further North, John Foster, on the farm now owned by E. L. Hinckley. Near the present Reservoir was the house and Saw Mill of Hugh Mitchell and, beyond, on the Marks farm, lived Patrick Davidson. Still further North, on the Dewitt C. Campbell farm, was the house of a family named Coons. John Moore, tradition says, lived on the Elisha Moore farm a little over two miles East of the village, but it seems more probable that he should have erected his house on the hill to the West, over-looking the Mohawk Valley, now owned by Wm. H. Waldron.

A further list might be given but this is sufficient

to show the limits of the Massacre. It will be seen that the limits of what was known as the Cherry Valley settlement were, on the West and South, almost identical with the boundaries of the present town of Cherry Valley in those directions. To the East and North the boundaries were not much different than at present, but the Indians either did not reach the more distant houses, or the owners had sufficient warning so that they escaped to the Mohawk settlements.

At the time of the Massacre most of the male inhabitants of Cherry Valley, over the age of sixteen, were serving in the Continental Army, at distant points. At first thought it seems strange that the men who had lived all their lives among the Indians, and knew all their wiles and stratagems, and were thoroughly acquainted with their methods of warfare, should have been sent to the main armies and men unacquainted with the ways of the Indian be sent to protect a frontier settlement. It can only be explained on the theory that experience had shown that when men were left to protect their home settlements, their zeal for the cause of patriotism was likely to be lost sight of in their desire to look first after their own interests and the improvement of their farms and material prospects. In the case of Cherry Valley it was a sad mistake. Had such men as Capt. M'Kean, Col. Campbell and Col. Clyde been at home, it is safe to say, the Indians would not have found the settlement so unprepared, and

that many of the lives lost in that horrible butchery would have been saved.

Among the men who, by their ability, prominence, or zeal for the cause of patriotism, gave honor to Cherry Valley during the Revolutionary period, the first place must be given to the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, by reason of his age, great learning and the position he had so long occupied in the settlement. His great age prevented him from taking active part in the conflict but his advice was sought by all on matters pertaining to the war, and the patriotism displayed by the inhabitants of this section was largely due to his influence.

John Moore was the most prominent resident of the place during this period, though not distinguished as a soldier, owing to his lameness. He was a delegate to the first, second, third, fourth and fifth Provincial Congresses; a member of the State Committee of Safety, and several times a Member of Assembly.

Capt. M'Kean, though not an educated man, was one of the leading men of the settlement by reason of his natural abilities and physical strength and endurance. In such times physique and agility were quite as important as mental training, and indeed were likely to give the possessor greater prominence. M'Kean was accounted one of the most skillful Indian fighters in the country. He had command of a company of Rangers in the French war, and also during the Revolution. During the war he was

raised to the rank of Major. He was killed in the battle of Durlock, near Sharon Springs, in the summer of 1781.

Samuel Clyde, who was raised to the rank of Col., early in 1778, was one of the most prominent men and active patriots of the settlement. It is claimed that, after the death of Gen. Herkimer, the Officers wished to elect him Brigadier General in the place of Herkimer, but that he declined, on the ground that his advancement over the heads of Officers of higher rank, would cause jealousies which would be injurious to the American cause. The failure to appoint a successor to Gen. Herkimer is said to have been due to this refusal on the part of Mr. Clyde, who was then a Major. Col Clyde was a member of the State Assembly in 1777-8, and Sheriff of Montgomery County in 1785-9.

Col. Samuel Campbell was one of the leaders of the settlement in all matters—social, religious, political and military. He was a member of the Tryon County Committee of Safety and a Col. of the Tryon County Minute Men. His grand-son, the late Judge W. W. Campbell, author of the "Annals of Tryon County," states that as the highest Officer left in command, he led off the troops after the Battle of Oriskany. Col. Campbell was the intimate friend of Gov. Clinton, and numbered among his friends most of the public men of the North. As late as 1802 he was a member of Assembly from Tryon County.

James and John Willson were among the leading

and most influential residents. The Rev. Mr. Swinerton, in his "Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church of Cherry Valley," states that the former was, in 1739, High Sheriff of Albany County, which then included all this part of the country. He came here first in that year, as a surveyor, in company with Mr. Lindesay, and later on settled here. He was Commissary for the regiment stationed in the Fort.

The Wells were the social leaders of this part of the Country. John Wells, who died just previous to the Revolution, was a King's Magistrate and his son Robert Wells, was a Major in the Tryon County Militia. The entire Wells family were killed in the Massacre, except a son who was in Schenectady at the time. The latter was afterwards the famous New York lawyer—John Wells.

James Cannon, although a young man, was a very active patriot and afterwards became a man of considerable importance in Otsego County, holding several County offices.

Hugh Mitchell and Thomas Shankland, though men of inferior education and social position, were nevertheless, by reason of their activity and patriotism, men of some consideration in the settlement. The former was, in 1775, a member of the Schenectady Committee of Safety. Thomas Spencer, the Indian interpreter, was also for a time a resident of Cherry Valley. He rendered valuable services to the Americans during the Revolution.

There were a number of others who, by reason of their activity in the cause of Liberty, are worthy of mention, but the above list comprises those who might be termed the "leading men" in the settlement. It is a remarkable list for a little frontier settlement of three hundred people. Not alone because of the prominence of those mentioned, in the affairs of the western part of the Province, but also for the reason that so many of them were men of excellent social standing and superior education.—To the latter facts the former was doubtless due.—The Dutch of the Mohawk Valley though an excellent, sturdy and honest people, were not, as a rule, an educated class, and they readily yielded precedence to the brighter and more cultivated intellects of the Cherry Valley leaders, in their councils and deliberations, notwithstanding the fact that each district was, in military matters, very tenacious of its rights.

It is interesting in this connection to note that many of the men who were the most prominent, during the Revolution and the years following, in the affairs of the Mohawk Valley, received their early education at Rev. Mr. Dunlop's school in Cherry Valley. The most notable of these was John Frey, for many years the most prominent resident of the Valley.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MASSACRE.

The morning of the 11th of November, 1778. found the people lulled into fancied security. The positive assurances of Col. Alden that no attack was intended, his stationing outposts, as he asserted, not in anticipation of danger but to quiet the apprehensions of the citizens, the fact that he and several of his command slept outside the Fort, had removed the fears entertained, during the summer and fall, of an attack upon the settlement. Who can tell the shock of the awakening from this fancied security! Soon after daylight a horseman from Beaverdam rode in hot haste into the village, saying he had been fired upon by Indians. Too late Col. Alden repented of his over-confidence. His scouts and outposts had shared in his confidence of safety and in their consequent carelessness had been captured by the approaching forces.

Hard upon the heels of the rider came Butler and Brant with a savage army, twice the number of all the men, women and children in the neighborhood.

On they came in that cold, drizzly, November morning, bringing mutilation and death, or a yet more to be dreaded captivity to the peaceful, innocent inhabitants of the little Valley. There was not time either for citizens or soldiers to reach the Fort. Col. Alden, who was at the house of Mr. Wells, and whose over-confidence was the cause of the Massacre, hastened toward his command. He was hotly pursued by an Indian, who called upon him to stop. The order not being obeyed, the savage threw his tomahawk which hit the Colonel in the head, and this put him in the power of his dusky pursuer. He was killed and scalped.

Meanwhile the bloody work had commenced in all parts of the little settlement. Many of the soldiers were either quartered among the citizens or were making them friendly visits. Sixteen of them fell beneath the murderous tomahawk and fourteen were taken prisoners. Men, women, and children, were killed indiscriminately or were taken prisoners, according to the mood of the Indians or the yet more barbarous Tories. The Indian war whoop was heard in every direction, mingled with the screams of the affrighted and the cries and shrieks of the wounded and dying.

Here a husband and father was killed while endeavoring to protect his wife and children. There a mother was tomahawked while striving to guard her helpless offspring. Children's brains were knocked out before the eyes of agonized parents. Wives

were killed while their husbands stood bound in the hands of the captors. A few reached the Fort; some fled to the woods, preferring the chances of death by cold or starvation rather than certain destruction or capture at the hands of their barbarous enemies.— In a few hours the work of destruction and desolation was complete. What was at sunrise a fair and flourishing settlement, with comfortable houses, well filled barns and lowing herds, was at sunset a homeless waste, with only here and there a house, while amid the smouldering embers of the burned buildings were found the charred bones of the victims of the unholy massacre.

The house of Mr. Well's was among the first attacked, the village having been entered at that point.— The family were engaged in their morning devotions when the Indians entered the house. Mr. Wells was tomakawked while offering supplications at the throne of Grace. The entire family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Wells, a brother and sister, three children and three domestics, were killed. One daughter, especially beloved for her kindness of heart and many christian graces, having escaped from the house was pursued by an Indian who, as he approached her, raised his tomahawk. She begged him, in the Indian language, to spare her life. A tory, who had been a servant in her father's family, and who knew her amiable qualities, stepped between her and the savage, and asked him to spare her life, claiming she was his sister. The Indian pushed him roughly

aside and buried his hatchet in the head of the innocent and pure hearted girl. One representative of the family was left, a boy, who was at school in Schenectady. He ultimately became a prominent lawyer in New York city. One of his descendants was present at the unveiling of the monument, erected to the memory of the victims at the Centennial of the Massacre in 1878.

The home of Rev. Mr. Dunlop, the venerable and beloved minister of the settlement, was attacked.—His life was spared through the influence of Little Aaron, an Indian Chief, who had attended Mr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon. Mrs. Dunlop was killed and mutilated in his presence. He was taken prisoner, but was not retained. With a daughter he went to New Jersey, where he died the following year; never having recovered from the effects of the awful scenes through which he passed at the Massacre.

The home of Mr. Mitchell was the scene of great barbarity. He was himself not in the house when the attack was made, though in sight of it. Seeing the impossibility of aiding his family, and hoping that his wife and children would be spared, he concealed himself until the party left the house. He returned immediately upon their leaving but it was to find Mrs. Mitchell and three children dead and bathed in their own blood. A fourth child was not quite dead,—a little girl ten or twelve years of age. Taking her up tenderly he was endeavoring to restore

her to consciousness when he saw another party approaching the house. He again concealed himself and from his place of concealment he saw a white man, Newberry by name, cleave with his hatchet the head of his little daughter Newberry was hung, at Canajoharie, the following summer; Mr. Mitchell's testimony having much to do with his conviction.

The Dickson's lived on a knoll about two miles below the Fort. Hearing the Indians approach Mrs. Dickson and her children climbed the precipitous hill back of their house and concealed themselves in the woods. Some time after the Indians had, apparently, all gone by, Mrs. Dickson, cautioning her children to remain in concealment, returned to the house in search of food. She was at once seized and killed by a party of Indians who had remained behind as an ambuscade. The children lay in hiding all that day and the following night. The next morning the eldest child crept to the brink of the hill and found the Indians encamped a little below their home. One of the first sights she saw was a tall pole stuck in the ground, on which were hung a large number of human scalps and conspicuous over the rest was one of long fiery red hair which she knew at once had belonged to her mother. Later in the day a scouting party brought the motherless children into the Fort.

The first person killed in the Massacre was James Gault, one of the original settlers. His house was

half a mile North of the Dicksons and was, with that exception, the first house in the settlement in that direction. They had no notice of the approach of the Indians and the entire family was captured.—Mr. Gault was at once slain. The other members of the family were only retained in captivity a day or two.

Col. Samuel Campbell was from home at the time of the attack. On his return he found neither mother, wife nor children. Later he learned that Mrs. Campbell and four children had been taken prisoners. When the house was attacked it had been vigorously defended by her father, Mr. Cannon. He was finally wounded and the family captured, with the exception of one child, who was concealed by the negro nurse.

Among those who escaped captivity was the family of Col. Clyde. The Colonel was not at home. Mrs. Clyde, having learned of the attack, fled with her seven children and a negro lad, from the house before the arrival of the Indians and Tories. With the aid of the lad she succeeded in keeping the children quiet in their concealment, although the savages passed within a few feet of their hiding place. She was taken into the Fort the following morning, as was also a daughter, ten years of age, who was separated from her when they fled from the house.

A story is related of the escape of a family living in the Fulling mill in Livingston's Glen, which has in it a touch of humor, the only break in the record

of the sad and awful horrors of the Massacre.—Hearing the Indian outcries the mother hurried her children up the bank, on the side of the Glen. Telling them to conceal themselves in the bushes and cautioning them under no circumstances to answer any calls, no matter by whom given, she sought another hiding place and eventually reached the Fort without her children. The following morning a scouting party tried to find the children, but no answer was returned to their calls and shouts, and finally, discouraged, they sent a party after the mother. She had no better success. In vain she called them again and again. There was no response. Heart broken in the belief that the Indians had captured them she was about to return to the Fort when one of the soldiers discovered them huddled together, in fear and trembling, in a dense thicket of brush, cold and hungry, but unharmed.

As morning drew on, the prisoners were assembled together and commenced their weary march down the valley, in a pitiless November storm. They encamped about two miles from the village and, after a sleepless night, upon the dismal morning of the twelfth, again started on their doleful way. Mrs. Cannon, on account of her age and otherwise enfeebled condition, not being able to keep up with the party, was killed and left by the wayside. A sad day's march and another sorrowful night, and then came the joyful announcement that the women and children were to be sent back, with the exception of

the families of John Moore and Samuel Campbell, whose prominence was such that their families were carried into a long and severe captivity. An exchange was not made until near the close of the war. Among the captives was the late James Campbell, then a boy of five or six years, who died about 1870.

The Fort was attacked upon the 11th, but the assailants were repulsed. An attack was again made on the 12th, but wisely heeding the remonstrance of the cannon of the garrison the attacking party soon retired and soon after departed down the valley.—Two hours after they had gone a company of Continental troops under command of Col. James Gordon, accompanied by a regiment of the Mohawk Militia under Col. Klock, arrived at the Fort, having been notified by some of the fugitives of the attack on the settlement. They were too late to do more than help in collecting the fugitives hidden in the woods and assist in burying the dead.

The charred and mutilated remains of those who had perished were collected and consigned to a common grave in the village cemetery. It was decided to abandon the settlement in which nothing was left except the Fort, the Church, and here and there a house. The cattle had been killed or driven away; the grain burned, and the vegetables destroyed by fire or frost. Most of those who survived the Massacre wended their way to the Valley of the Mohawk, where they remained until the close of the war. The Fort was occupied until the following

summer. when the Regiment was ordered to join Clinton in the Sullivan expedition.

CHAPTER V.

VARIOUS FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE MASSACRE.

The number of the Indians and Tories engaged in the Massacre at Cherry Valley has been variously estimated at from seven to eight hundred. Campbell in his "Annals" places the number at seven hundred, composed of five hundred Indians and two hundred Rangers. Another authority states that the force was about equally divided between Indians and Tories, while still another states that there were four hundred Tories engaged in the attack. As none of the authorities place the number at more than eight, or less than seven hundred, it may safely be assumed that the force numbered somewhat over seven hundred.

The circumstances leading to the attack, as given in the Annals, were as follows: Capt. Walter Butler was taken prisoner while on a visit to Tryon county, in the summer of 1775, and confined in the Albany goal. Pretending sickness, he was transferred to a private house from which he effected his escape and joined his father at Niagara. Here he procured command of a part of the regiment known as 'Butler's

Rangers,' together with permission to employ the Indian forces under Brant. Burning with a desire for vengeance he at once started for Cherry Valley. On his way he met Brant who was returning to winter quarters at Niagara. The latter reluctantly consented to accompany him, Campbell states, at displeasure of being placed under the command of Butler. Others take the more charitable view that, knowing the vindictive spirit with which Butler was animated, he was fearful that the outrages which would be committed would sully his reputation for humanity, of which he was very tenacious. Strange as it may seem to the majority of people who are woefully ignorant of the true character of this remarkable man, it was doubtless fortunate for the inhabitants of Cherry Valley that he finally consented to join his forces with those of Butler. His whole effort during the Massacre seems to have been directed to protecting the women and children so far as he had the power. It is known that he endeavored, by taking a short cut, to reach the house of Mr. Wells in advance of the Senecas, the most bloodthirsty of the Indians, and to whom most of the barbarities of the Massacre are to be traced, in order that he might protect them. Unfortunately he was delayed in crossing a large plowed field and arrived too late to save the lives of this very estimable family. Another act, showing his humanity, is related in the 'Annals':

"In a house which he entered, he found a women

engaged in her usual business. "Are you thus engaged, while all your neighbors are murdered around you?" said Brant. "We are king's people," she replied. "That plea will not avail you to-day.— They have murdered Mr. Wells' family, who are as dear to me as my own." "There is one Joseph Brant; if he is with the Indians he will save us." "I am Joseph Brant; but I have not the command, and I know not that I can save you; but I will do what is in my power." While speaking, several Senecas were observed approaching the house. "Get into bed and feign yourself sick," said Brant hastily.

When the Senecas came in, he told them there were no persons there, but a sick woman and her children, and besought them to leave the house; which after a short conversation, they accordingly did. As soon as they were out of sight, Brant went to the end of the house, and gave a long shrill yell; soon after, a small band of Mohawks were seen crossing the adjoining field with great speed. As they came up, he addressed them—"Where is your paint? here, put my mark upon this woman and her children." As soon as it was done, he added, "You are now probably safe." She was not again molested.

Brant's greatest act of mercy was in securing the return, to their homes, of the women and children captured at the time of the Massacre. That he did not also secure the release of the Campbell and Moore families was, doubtless, owing to the fact that Walter Butler insisted on retaining them in order

to obtain the release of his wife, who was held captive by the authorities of Tryon county, by effecting an exchange.

The number killed in the Massacre is given at forty-eight, of which sixteen were soldiers of the garrison. The captives taken, has been variously estimated at from thirty to forty. The latter were all released the second day, and returned to their homes, with the exception of Mrs. Samuel Campbell and four children, Mrs. John Moore and three daughters, Mr. Cannon, several officers and men.— Among the officers captured, was Lieut. Col. Stacey, against whom Molly Brant had, for some unknown reason, a deadly hostility. In order to bring about his death, she resorted to the Indian method of dreaming. “She informed Col. Butler that she dreamed she had the Yankee’s head, and that she and the Indians were kicking it about the Fort.— Col. Butler ordered a small keg of rum to be painted and given to her. This, for a short time appeased her, but she dreamed the second time that she had the Yankee’s head, with his hat on. Col. Butler ordered another keg of rum to be given her, then told her, decidedly, that Col. Stacey should not be given up to the Indians. Col. Stacey was afterwards exchanged.

The prisoners were taken to Kanedaseago, Mrs. Campbell carrying a child of eighteen months in her arms, the entire distance. Here the families were separated, the several members being adopted into

different Indian families. Mrs. Campbell was detained at Kanedaseago about a year and then removed to Niagara. Arrangements having been completed for her exchange her children were again gathered together, with the exception of one boy of six or seven years. Later Mrs. Campbell found him awaiting her at Montreal, whither she was sent with her family. He had entirely forgotten his native tongue but spoke the Indian language fluently.

At about the same time, Mrs. Moore and her children were exchanged and returned to Cherry Valley, with the exception of one daughter, Jane, who had, not long after her arrival at Niagara, married a Capt. Powell, an English officer of excellent reputation, with whom she remained in Canada.

Sims, in his "Frontiersmen," relates the following anecdote, giving Brant himself as the authority:

Among those captured at Cherry Valley was a man named Vrooman, with whom Brant was acquainted. Desiring to aid him in escaping the latter, when the party was a few miles from the settlement, sent Vrooman back, about two miles, after a few strips of white bark, expecting that he would take advantage of the opportunity and escape to the Fort. Greatly to Brant's surprise and disgust, in a couple of hours, Vrooman came panting back, bringing with him the bark.

Col. John Butler, naturally sensitive of the stigma which attached to the memory of his son, by reason of the inhumanities practiced at the time of the

Massacre, claimed that Brant's exhibition of humanity was prompted by a desire to cast discredit on Walter Butler's humanity. Brant always strenuously denied this, and pointed to his conduct at other places as evidence that he warred neither on women nor children.

THE STORY
OF THE
MASSACRE AT CHERRY VALLEY,

A PAPER

READ BY

MRS. WILLIAM S. LITTLE,

DECEMBER 12th, 1890.

BEFORE THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND PUBLISHED

AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

The writer wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the kind criticism and suggestions of her relatives and friends, as well as to the following sources of information :

1. "Annals of Tyron County, or the Border Warfare of New York during the Revolution, by William W. Campbell, LL. D."

2. "Central New York in the Revolution," Address delivered by Douglas Campbell, Esq., at the unveiling of a monument in commemoration of the massacre at Cherry Valley.

3. "An Historical Account of the Presbyterian Church at Cherry Valley, N. Y.," by Rev. H. U. Swinnerton, Ph. D.

4. The Journal of Wm. McKendry, a lieutenant in the army of the Revolution, and an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and furnished by the courtesy of Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis of the American Antiquarian Society.

5. A Book of "Memorabilia," relating to Cherry Valley, collected by Mr. Rufus A. Grider, of Canajoharie, N. Y.

managed to destroy the dispatches that gave a true account of the state of the garrison, and give up a false set which he carried; so Brant went away for that time, and the valley had a short interval of peace.

During the summer the fort was built; it was rude, but sufficient for frontier warfare. The site chosen included the burying ground, and the church itself was used for the headquarters of the troops. The people stored their valuables within its walls, and themselves took refuge there at times. The work was defended by four pieces of artillery and between two and three hundred troops of the Sixth Massachusetts regiment were quartered here under the command of Colonel Ichabod Alden of Danbury, Mass., in whose honor the fort was named.

Within a few years a manuscript journal has been found and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, that was kept by a Lieutenant William McKendry, of this same Sixth Massachusetts regiment. It is full of interest, beginning as it does at Albany in October, 1777, and closing after the great Sullivan campaign, in January, 1780. His first entry after going to Cherry Valley, July 24, 1778, is as follows: "Arrived at 4 P. M. The regiment was received with much joy, with firing a blunderbuss and one round from the militia and inhabitants, which were posted at Cherry Valley." On the next day he writes: "Drew two days provisions and went to Rev. Mr. Dunlop's and drank sillabub with discoursing the old gentleman about sundries affairs." On the 27th he says: "Began to board with Mr. James Richey, twenty rods from Fort Alden." On the 6th of August he writes: "The troops moved from Colonel Campbell's to the fort." On the 7th: "Began to build the redout at Fort Alden." On August 25th: "Went to Colonel Campbell's and saw ye Dominie's bee wool breaking;" and so on with accounts of regimental horse races and field days, a wedding and other festivities, as if with no thought of danger.

And indeed it seems as if life might now have gone on safely in the village but for the foolhardiness of Colonel Alden, who, as well as his under officers, presumed too much on the dread the Indians had of artillery and of regular troops. Lieutenant McKendry, as we have seen, had his quarters outside the fort, and the same was true of Colonel Alden, Lieutenant Colonel Stacy, and other officers. On the 6th of November, just as the people were beginning to breathe freely again on account of the approach of winter, news was sent to Colonel Alden from Fort Schuyler of a projected attack on the village within a few days; but even then the Colonel was not aroused to a sense of danger. In vain did Colonels Campbell and Clyde beg him to allow the inhabitants to take shelter in the fort, where there was plenty of room for them. Colonel Alden said they need fear nothing, that the Indians would never dare to come where there were disciplined troops and that he would send out scouts in every direction.*

* See Appendix p. 2.

The people had to be contented, much against their wishes, with the colonel's decision, and that it was not a selfish one is shown by the fact that he still stayed at Mr. Wells's house, on the sloping hillside just below the village with Lieutenant Colonel Stacy and a small guard. It adds to our interest in Mr. Wells's place to know that it was the original "Lindesay's bush," owned and occupied by the first settler, and that in later days, until her marriage and removal to Rochester, it was the home of Mrs. Roswell Hart, whose brother, Mr. Edward Phelon, still lives upon it.

The scouting party sent down the valley was surprised by the Indians and taken prisoners on the night of the 10th of November, and in the early morning hours of the 11th a band of about five hundred Indians and two hundred Tories, under the command of Joseph Brant and Captain Walter Butler, came into the settlement. The snow was several inches deep on the ground and rain falling in the early morning; the atmosphere was thick and hazy, thus helping their designs. Their number was large enough to admit of surrounding each house in which an officer was lodged, and at the same time allowing the main body to attack the fort.

A man coming up the valley on horseback was fired upon and wounded by the Indians. He spurred his horse on up to Mr. Wells's house to alarm Colonel Alden. The colonel was still incredulous, thinking it only a straggling party, and he ordered the guard called in. This delay gave the Indians time to rush by. The advance guard was mostly made up of Seneca Indians, at that time the wildest and most ferocious of any of the Six Nations. Colonel Alden escaped from the house and was pursued down the hill towards the fort by an Indian who called upon him to surrender. This he would not do and turned to fire upon the Indian, but his pistol only snapped. The attempt enraged Brant, for he it was, and he threw his tomahawk at him, and then rushing up, scalped him. Thus the unfortunate officer was the first victim of his sad mistake. Lieutenant-Colonel Stacy was made a prisoner, and every one of the guard was either killed or captured.

The scenes in Mr. Wells's house which the colonel fled from were heartrending. The whole peaceful family was massacred, consisting of Robert Wells, his wife, his mother, four children, his brother and sister and three domestics. The only member of the family to escape was a son, John, who was with an aunt in Schenectady, and who lived to become one of the most distinguished lawyers in New York. This one might, indeed, have said in the words of an English poet:

"They left of all my tribe
Nor man, nor child, nor thing of living birth,
No! not the dog, that watched my household hearth,
Escaped—that 'morn' of blood upon our plains;
All perished! I alone am left on earth!
To whom nor relative nor blood remained,
No! not a kindred drop that runs in human veins."

to abandon the settlement. Most of them moved to the Mohawk Valley, and there, until the close of the war, did noble service. The garrison remained in the fort until the following June.

In Lieutenant McKendry's journal mention is made from month to month of dead bodies found in the woods or men who died in camp from the effect of wounds received the day of the massacre. I think the exact number of the killed on that day will never be known. He also records various alarms given of hostile Indians in the neighborhood. Other foes came, now that the place was deserted. On April 5th, 1779, he says: "One of the soldiers killed a wolf." On May 5th he notes, "Some squalls of snow to-day;" and on June 3d, "A very hard frost last night which killed the blossoms at this place." On the 18th of June the regiment left the fort and marched to Otsego lake to join General James Clinton's division of Sullivan's army. Soon after, a band of marauders set fire to the church and so the last vestige of the place was destroyed.

The hand of retributive justice soon overtook the Tory Newberry, who was convicted the year following on the testimony of Hugh Mitchell and hung as a murderer.

In 1781 Captain Walter Butler, the real author of the massacre, suffered the very fate he had so often meted out to others. Fleeing up the Mohawk river, after a disastrous defeat at Johnstown, he swam his horse across the West Canada creek and then turned to face his pursuers. An Oneida Indian, whose rifle ball brought him wounded to the ground, cast aside his gun and blanket and crossed the stream. His answer to Butler's beseeching cry for mercy, was only: "Sherry Valley, remember Sherry Valley," and a cut with his tomahawk that cleft his skull. The place is called still Butler's ford.

On the other hand, Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, whose remarkable career deserves an extended notice, lived in Canada many years after the massacre, where he was honored by the British government. From Brantford, Ontario, named for him, the following dispatch was sent a few years ago to the New York *Tribune*: "A monument to Joseph Brant, Chief of the Six Nations, who was chiefly instrumental in securing the adherence of the Six Nations to the British cause in the Revolutionary War, was unveiled here to-day. It was erected by the Six Nation Indians of the Mohawk village near Brantford. The center piece is a heroic figure of Brant, nine feet high. At either side of the Cornish gray granite pedestal are groups of three figures each, representing chiefs of the Mohawk, Tuscarora, Oneida, Seneca, Onondaga and Cayuga tribes."

Any comment upon this is unnecessary.

We will now go back to the Indians and their captives. As Mrs. Campbell's mother, Mrs. Eleanor Cannon, could not keep up with the

APPENDIX.

[I.]

Since writing this paper, the following letter has been received :

BUFFALO, N. Y., December 9, 1890.

WM. F. PECK, Esq., Secretary of the Rochester Historical Society :

Dear Sir—Some two years ago I chanced to get access to a mass of papers relating to colonial and revolutionary times, which were preserved by the descendants of Col. Daniel Claus, at Niagara, Canada. Among them was a letter dictated by the famous Molly Brant to Col. Claus, announcing the departure of the expedition to Cherry Valley. It was written from Niagara, and stated that the "Old King," or Sayengueraghta, was in command. He was the ruling sachem of the Senecas, and led the Indians at Wyoming. I think the letter has never been printed, and that the author of the paper to be read on Friday evening, may like to see it. The letter was written in the Mohawk tongue, and was translated, a few years since, by my Indian friend, Isaac Bearfoot. Claus, you will remember, was a son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, and a trusted servant of the crown. I have always known that the tradition of the Brant family and the Mohawks generally, affirmed that Brant was not the leader on that occasion ; that on his return journey from the Mohawk Valley, he met the expedition by chance, and was persuaded by Butler and the Old King to turn back with them, together with a small band of his Mohawk followers, and that he exerted himself to restrain the ferocity of the Senecas and Tories. My adopted Indian mother, Catharine Johns, the daughter of Brant, so understood the facts. Although an American, I think Brant has not been justly dealt with by our historians, although Col. Stone has probably erred in painting the old chief in too softened and flattering colors.

I send a copy of the letter referred to, as it, in some sense, confirms the family tradition. Mrs. Johns, by the way, never heard of the letter in her lifetime, and none of the family descendants, to my knowledge, know of its existence.

Yours very truly,

WM. C. BRYANT.

MY ELDER BROTHER :

I received just now a letter from Miss Mary Deyonwadonti* Niagara. She says : Tell the governor that I have heard that Oraghgwatrihon† is coming back again. She says, I want to hear what happened to his band who were with him on the lake. She says, Governor Asharekowa‡ I greet, and thank him much for what he did. His message is here at Niagara. His words are pleasant. Tell him, therefore, that the people of the Long House are much gratified. She says, we are now awaiting what will happen to the whole Long House. About 500 left here Oct. 28th for Karitongeh.§ They said in 8 days Karitongeh shall be destroyed. Sakayeugwaraghdon¶ is their leader.

To Col. Claus, Montreal, I, John Deserontyon|| have written this.
Dec. 3, 1778.

* Mary Brant, or Deyonwadonti—"Many opposed to one."

† Oraghgwatrihon—A young officer and friend of Molly.

‡ Gov. Asharekowa—Gov. Haldimand, "Big Sword."

§ Karitongeh (Cherry Valley)—"Place of the oaks."

¶ The usual Mohawk orthography of Old King's name or title, meaning "Disappearing Smoke."

|| Deserontyon—"Capt. John" or Deseronto, meaning "The lightning has struck."

[II.]

[From Sparks's MSS. in Harvard College Library. Extract from Capt. Benj. Warren's Diary, Cherry Valley, 1778.]

About the first of November Gen. Hand, who was ordered to the command of the Northern Department, came to direct us to determine on the expediency of quartering troops here during the winter. He called for a return of what ordnance stores, ammunition, etc., I had in the garrison; meanwhile an express arrived from Fort Stanwix, informing that one of the Oneidas was at a Council of war of the enemy's, in which it was determined to visit Cherry Valley. The General had the regiment turned out and reviewed them; he paid us a high compliment in orders and in consequence of the express, he went down and ordered Col. Klock to send us immediately 200 men to re-inforce us, which the Gen. wrote, was to have been here the 9th of November and ordered up a large quantity of provisions and ammunition store, which, however, did not come to hand nor any reinforcement of men, and on Wednesday, the 11th, about 12 o'clock, the enemy to the number of 650, rushed upon us, surrounded headquarters and the fort immediately and pushed vigorously for the fort, but our soldiers behaved with great spirit and alertness, defended the fort and repulsed them, after three hours and a half smart engagement. Col. Alden in endeavoring to reach the fort was killed; Col. Stacy made prisoner together with Lieut. Holden, Ensign Garrett, the Surgeon's mate, and a Sergeant, about 12 or 14 of the regiment; twelve of the regiment beside the Col. killed and two wounded.

November 12th.—No reinforcements till about 9 or 10 o'clock. The Indians came on again and gave a shout for rushing on, but our cannon played on them brisk; they soon gave way; they then went round the settlement, burnt all the buildings, mostly the first day, and collected all the stock and drove the most of it off; killed and captivated all the inhabitants, a few that hid in the woods excepted, who have since got into the fort.

November 13th.—In the afternoon and morning of the 13th we sent out parties after the enemy withdrew; brought in the dead; such a shocking sight my eyes never beheld before of savage and brutal barbarity: to see a husband mourning over his dead wife with four dead children lying by her side, mangled, scalped, and some their heads, some their legs and arms cut off, some torn the flesh off their bones by their dogs—12 of one family all killed and four of them burnt in his house.

Saturday, 14th.—The enemy seemed to be gone. We sent out to collect what was left of cattle or anything; found some more dead, and buried them.

Sunday, 15th.—This day some provisions arrived, being the first supply after the first attack, when we had not a pound of bread for man in garrison, for 4 or 5 days, but a trifle of meat. In the afternoon a scout, we thought, had been taken by them, a sergeant and eight arrives in safe. By some they took prisoners they let go again informed they had a number wounded and we saw a number of them fall, so that we have reason to think we killed more of them than they killed of our regiment, though they butchered about 40 women and children, that has been founded. It came on to storm before the engagement began, first with rain, but for this day past it has been a thick snow storm.

[III.]

[From Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Monday, Dec. 7, 1778.]

From an officer who was in the fort at Cherry Valley, November 11th, when it was attacked, we have the following account, viz:

On Saturday night, 8th November, an express arrived from Fort Stanwix, informing them that an Oneida Indian had acquainted them that he sat in Council in the

Seneca Country with the Six Nations, and other tribes, and that they had concluded to attack Fort Alden, in Cherry Valley. On Sunday morning a sergeant and 12 men were sent on the road by Beaver Dam, towards the enemy, to continue five days; another scout with a non-commission officer and five men, were sent on the road to Springfield, to continue four days; these two roads being the only avenues from the enemy's country to this place, except an old Indian path which had been neglected by us; at the same time we sent by the same roads, scouts in the morning, which returned at night. On Wednesday, the 11th, it rained very hard; the enemy came by the above-mentioned path, past by two houses, and lodged themselves in a swamp, a small distance back of Mr. Wells's house, headquarters. * * * *

The fort was commanded after Colonel Alden's death by the brave Major Whiting of Dedham, and the two cannons under the direction of the brave Capt. Hickling of this town, who was chief engineer in building the fort, and whose assistance contributed in saving of it.

[From Boston Gazette and Country Journal, Jan. 4, 1779.]

POUGHKEEPSIE, Dec. 14.

Extract of a letter from Tryon County, Nov. 24, 1778:

SIR—I have had no opportunity to give you an earlier account of the destruction at Cherry Valley, where I arrived the day after the tragedy was acted, and did not return home till last night, having been busied in collecting and burying the dead, and getting the distressed inhabitants brought off. I was never before spectator of such a scene of distress and horror.

* * * * *
Of the wretched surviving inhabitants, there are 182 who have neither house nor home, nor a morsel of bread; are almost naked, and a great part of them without a penny to purchase any of the necessaries of life. And in all this massacre there were but 3 men of the place killed, all the rest being helpless women and children. * * * We have now not one settlement left in this county at any distance from the south side of the Mohawk river, and have the greatest reason to fear, that in a very short time we shall not have one on it, unless very speedy and effectual measures are taken to check the savages and worse than savage Tories. * * * *

You may depend on this as fact, and as near as I could possibly collect the particulars of this doleful affair, wherein I have a sister and her amiable daughter carried off by the enemy.

M. R.

[No. 1750.]

SERIOUS CHARGE AGAINST JOHN STARK.

Accused of Encouraging Seizure of Cattle, the Proceeds of Whose Sale Were to be Distributed Among the Troops Capturing Them.

Albany 10th Sept'r 1778.

Sir, We beg leave to inclose your Excellency Copy of an Affidavit of Mr. Isaac Bogert, from which you will perceive that General Stark has given Orders, (or at least his Sanction), for the Sale of a Number of Cattle the Property of several of the Subjects of this State and intends to have the Amount distributed among the Troops.

From the best Information we have been able to collect, we cannot learn that the People from whom the Cattle were taken have acted such a Part as to forfeit their Property.

The Spirit of plundering is so apparent among the Troops on the Frontiers, particularly those at Cherry Valley, that unless some Steps are soon taken to put a Stop thereto, our Frontiers will be ruined; we have had Persons sent down by them upon Pretence of being Guilty of Treason, but suspect in fact that the motive proceeded only from having a better Opportunity to appropriate their Effects for the above Purposes.

We are with Respect your Excellencies Hum'e Servants.

John M: Beeckman, Mat: Visscher, Isaac D. Fonda.

His Excellency George Clinton, Esq.

Governor of the State of New York.

Isaac Bogart of the City of Albany being duly sworn, deposeth, and saith that he was lately at Cherry Valley, where he was informed by Capt. Robert McKeen, that he went on a Scout with

Captain Ballard of Colo. Alden's Regiment, and that while on their way they proposed to Capt. Ballard to proceed on in Order to take Prisoners, and Brant in particular; that Ballard answered he did not desire to see Brant nor to fight with him as his Orders from General Stark were to bring off the Cattle from the Butter Nuts and other Places which amounted to upwards of an hundred besides Horses and Sheep; that several other Persons gave him much the same Information, and the Deponent further says that from the best account he could obtain, there then were at Cherry Valley of the Cattle &c. brought in by Capt. Ballard from the Butter Nuts &c., forty two Head of neat Cattle, four at Goose Van Alstyne's ten Horses, twenty nine Sheep and one Iron Shod waggon; that Capt. Ballard and Party killed and made use of nine or ten Sheep on their way to Cherry Valley. And this Deponent further says, that he was informed by Weter Johnson, Deputy Commissary of Purchase, that of the Cattle so brought in as aforesaid, seven Head weighing 1715 wt. and three or four Sheep had been killed at Cherry Valley by Order of the Commanding Officer, and this Deponent further says, that the said Ballard informed him that General Stark had or would give Orders for the Sale of the Cattle so taken and brought in, and for the Division of the Proceeds of such Sale among the Party that brought in the Cattle &c. And this Deponent further says that the General talk at Cherry Valley was that the Cattle &c. was to be sold for the use of the Troops.

Isaac Bogert.

Sworn before me 10th Sept'r 1778.

John M. Beekman Justice.

a true Copy from the Original.

Leon. Gansevoort, Jun'r, secy. to the Commissioners of Conspiracies.

Poukeepsie 17th Nov'r 1778.

Sir, I have received your Letter of the 16th Instant. You may rest assured that no Person shall have my Permission to export any Quantity of Flour out of the State until the army is supplied. Mr. Hillhouse procured a Permit to export 50 Ton on the Recommendation of Gov'r Trumbull but as I have good Reason to believe he has abused the Indulgence by already exporting a greater Quantity, if this is the Case & I think you may easily prove it, his Permit [should be revoked]. I am, Sir your most Obed't Serv't

Geo. Clinton.

[To James Reed Esq.]

[No. 1917.]

DESTRUCTION OF CHERRY VALLEY.

Reports from Subordinate Officers Transmitted Through Governor Clinton to General Washington.

Schenectady 15th Nov'r 1778.

D'r Sir, Upon Information that the Enemy on the Evening of the 12th Inst. had left Cherry Valley after having destroyed the Village and put a Number of the Inhabitants together with Colo. Alden and some of the Garrison to the Sword, the Number of which cannot as yet be particularly ascertained, I recommended it to Colo. Clock who had collected about three hundred of the Militia to pursue them, if he found it practicable; but a want of a sufficient supply of Provisions & ammunition added to a Persuasion that the Enemy had gone too far to be overtaken induced the Colo. to lay aside all Thoughts of a pursuit and disband his Regt. I, therefore, left Cocknawaga yesterday and arrived last evening at this Place, where I had not been many Hours before I was sur-

prised with the disagreeable Intelligence of the Enemy having returned yesterday Morning and at 12 O'Clock took the Garrison of Fort Alden by Storm. Colo. Van Scaak's Regt. was advanced as far as Fort Johnson this Morning, and pushing forward with all possible Dispatch for Fort Plank, which, you will see by the inclosed Letters, is reported to be likewise attacked. I shall leave this immediately for aforesaid Place and use every Means in my Power to check the further Approaches of these Savages. Time will not admit of my writing to his Excellency Genl. Washington; shall therefore be much obliged to you, sir, to forward him the Intelligence. I am sir with esteem Your most Obt. Serv't

Edw'd Hand.

His Exc'y Geo. Clinton.

GENERAL TEN BROECK TO GENERAL HAND.

Albany 12th Nov'r 1778 5 P. M.

Sir, Agreeable to your request I immediately ordered Colo. Lansing's, Schuyler's & Col. Quackenbosh Regts. to Schohary & I desired Capt. Sprout who travelled with you to desire you to give Orders to Col. Wemple who commands the Schonectady militia.

The inclosed is a copy of a Letter I just this moment received from Colonel Van Woert of my Brigade, Before I rec'd this I had determined to sett out early in the morning presence. I now wish to receive your directions. Some days ago I sent orders to the Colonels of my four northern Regt. to hold their Regts. ready at a moment's notice, & directed Col. Van Vegten who lives at Saratoga, to send an Express to Fort Edward to know from the commanding officer there whether the Intelligence he received made it necessary for them to march but have not yet heard from

that Quarter. I remain with esteem Sir Your most humb. servant

Ab'm Ten Broeck.

The Honble. Genl. Hand.

MAJOR WHITING TO GENERAL HAND.

Fort Alden Cherry Valley Nov. 13, 1778.

Hon'd Sir, I embrace the earliest opportunity the present situation of our affairs would admit of, to inform you of the state of the Garrison. On the 11th ins. the Enemy, notwithstanding all our endeavours to the contrary, surprised us, having taken a scout of Sergt. & 8 of ours & took one & compelled him to pilot them to the officers Quarters. They push'd vigorously for the fort and had it not been for great activity & alertness of the Troops they had rushed within the lines. The Colonel fell in attempting getting to the Fort; the Lt. Col. Stacy was made prisoner, together with one Lt., one Ens., the Surgeon's mate & a few privates. We had about 6 or 8 of the Regt. killed, some missing. The enemy was very numerous; burnt all the buildings in the settlement, killed a great number of the inhabitants, men women & Children, carryed off many prisoners; some few that hid in the woods have got into the Fort. They collected all the cattle, horses & Sheep they could and drove off; they paid us a second visit yesterday, but nothing of them has been discovered this day. Notwithstanding the earliest & repeated dispatches to the river have had no reinforcement from there. When we were first attacked, we had not a pound of bread pr man in garrison; had it not been for a barrel of powder & half a box of Catridges belonging to the Town, our ammunition would have failed us. One Scout, a Sergt. & 8 men that went by the Butternuts has not

been heard off yet. I am with due respect Sir Your very humb. servant

Daniel Whiting.

Genl. Hand Schonec'd.

P. S. We have a Soldier with his leg broken, that's necessary to be amputated; the Surg. has no Instruments; request a case to be sent if possible.

COLONEL GORDON TO COLONEL GOOSE VAN SCHAICK.

Fort Plank 14" Nov'r 1778.

D. sir, Colonel Clyde is this moment arrived from Cherry Valley & brings the melancholy news that the Fort at that place was taken by Storm this day about 12 O'clock, He was out with a party burying the dead and collecting the few effects the Indians had left, when he heard three cannon fire at the Fort. He immediately ran towards it and did not see any one in the outside, but heard dreadfull yells of Indians and cries of murder in the inside. You will, therefore, no doubt think it necessary to march your Regt. up as quick as possible, and get them in this side of the River, to be ready to assist us in case they should come towards the river in the morning. Yours in haste

James Gordon Lt. Col.

Colonel Goose V. Schaick.

JELLES FONDA TO COLONEL VAN SCHAICK.

1778 Nov. 14" at 11 O'clock at night.

Sir, Just now John Ryckman Jun'r came to my house who was sent from Anthony V. Vegten, Esqr. by Col. Fred'k Pellenger & says that Fort Plank is attacked and that Col. Pellenger heard the Cannon fire as also did the Bearer the Express. Pray come

on with all speed with your Regt. He will inform you further about it. I am your very Hum. servant

Jelles Fonda.

To Col. G. V. Schaick.

In his absence to the next Commanding Officer.

COLONEL VAN SCHAICK FORWARDS THE LETTERS TO GENERAL HAND.

Mount Johnson Sunday morning 2 O'clock.

Sir, The inclosed letters this moment came to hand I have sent forward for your information. I shall march my Regt. for Canajohary as soon as the daylight appears. I am with respect Your very Humble servant

Goose Van Schaick Colo.

General Hand.

AND GENERAL HAND SENDS COPIES TO GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Sir, I am requested by the Honble. General Hand to send the inclosed copies of Letters to you by Express. I am with respect Your Excellency most Obed. Humb. servant

Henry Glen.

Schen. Nov'r 15th 1778.

To His Excellency G. Clinton, Poughkeepsie.

GOVERNOR CLINTON TRANSMITS THEM TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Poukeepsie 17th Nov'r 1778.

Dear Sir, I am this Moment honored with yours of the 15th Instant with the very disagreeable Accounts from Cherry Valley which according to your Request I have forwarded to his Excellency Genl. Washington. If I do not hear that Enemy have left

the Frontier & nothing extraordinary happens to prevent me I mean to set out for Albany Tomorrow or next Day at farthest that I may be the better able to render you assistance. I am with great Regard your most Obed't Serv't

[G. C.]

[To Gen. Hand.]

[No. 1918.]

AN AGGRESSIVE MOVEMENT NECESSARY.

Governor Clinton's Suggestions to John Jay—Cherry Valley the Seventh Valuable Settlement Destroyed in this State.

Nov'r 17th 1778 Pokepsie.

D'r Sir, I have this moment received the Letters & Papers of which the inclosed are Copies, giving the very disagreeable account of the Destruction of Cherry Valley by the Enemy & of their having surprized & taken Fort Alden at that Place by Storm, which I begg you to lay before Congress for their Information. Fatal Experience has more than sufficiently taught us the Impracticability of defending our extensive Frontiers by the Militia of the County & the small Proportion of regular Troops employed in that service against an Enemy acting upon a desultory Plan. There are so many Passes leading into the Different important Settlements to the Northward & westward which equally claim attention, that when the present Force is distributed for their Defence it becomes too weak to resist the united strength of the Enemy employed against any particular Point. Cherry Valley was occupied by Colo. Alden's Regt. and was, therefore, esteemed to be most secure; but even here the Enemy have proved too strong for us. This is the 7th valuable settlement in the state which this season has been destroyed exclusive the Injuries & Distresses experienced by Individuals. The Public have losst by the Destruc-

tion of these settlements some of the principal Granaries in this State from whence alone the army might have drawn supplies sufficient, at least to have prevented their present want.

It is of the utmost Importance that some more effectual Measures than have hitherto been pursued be adopted for the Defence of the Frontiers & I am perswaded this can only be effected by Offensive Operations, thereby carrying the War into the Enemy's Country, For which Purpose a proper Force ought to be employed, I might say raised for, unless the Enemy at N. Y. leave us I can't think a Competent Force can be detached from the Main Army without leaving it too Weak. If the Enemy are suffered to continue their Depredations much longer the Consequence may be fatal, as this state will be disabled from furnishing any supplies to the army & hitherto they have depended upon it for Bread. I am Sir,

[G. C.]

[To John Jay Esq.]

[No. 1919.]

“WANTON DESTRUCTION AND HORRID MURDERS.”

Course of the Enemy at Cherry Valley—False Rumor Regarding Fort Alden.

Head Quarters, Schohary November 17th 1778.

Sir, In my last which I had the Honor to address you from Albany, I informed you that I had ordered three Regiments to the assistance of this post, and on Friday last set out for this place where I arrived on Saturday, and it gives me pain to add, that of the three Regiments ordered, but about 100 of Colo. Lansing's and 60 of Colo. Schuyler's Regiments arrived with me, and about 50 of Colo. Quackenboss's Regiment are just come. Upon my arrival here I found that Colo. Butler had marched with his

Regt. of Continental Troops and the Corps of Riflemen to the relief of the Garrison of Fort Alden at Cherry Valley, and that this Post was left to the Detachment of Militia who had been here for some Time, consisting, by the returns, of about 90 men. On Sunday about 12 O'Clock Colo. Butler returned, who informed me he had been within seven Miles of Fort Alden, that he there received a Letter from Major Whiting (who commands that Fort) informing him that the Enemy had left Cherry Valley, on the 12th Instant, and that they had march'd twenty Miles before Evening. On the afternoon of the 15th, I received a Letter from General Hand, dated the same day at Schoneectady, acquainting an Express had come to him, with an account that the Enemy had carried Fort Alden by Storm on the 14th and had attack'd Fort Plank; that previous, thereto, he had discharged Colo. Wemple's Regt. of Militia and that Colonels Klock and Fisher upon arriving at Cherry Valley and finding the Enemy were returned had dismiss'd their Militia, and concluded by requesting that Colo. Butler and myself would move all the Force we could spare from the immediate defence of this place towards the Enemy. In this State of public affairs, I deemed it expedient to call a Council of the officers, as well Continental as militia, before whom I laid the Letter from Genl. Hand, and they unanimously determined that no Troops could be spared from the Defence of this post, without leaving the settlement exposed to the ravages of the Enemy, tho' there were more perhaps than were necessary for the sole defence of the Fort; but as the protection of the Settlement was an object of the first Consideration they esteem'd it unadvisable to detach any part of them. Of this I informed General Hand by Express; and yesterday received another Letter from him, dated at Caughnawaga, containing the happy Tidings that Fort Alden was still

in our possession and that the Intimation he had received respecting its being taken, was groundless, and requested me not to march the Troops as he had desired in his former Letter.

I have now with me of Colo. Lansing's Regiment about 150 men, and of Colo. Schuyler's ab't 160. The latter is stationed with his Regiment at the lower Fort, and the former in the vicinity of the middle Fort, there being no covering for the Men in the Fort or Lines. Colo. Quackenboss I have ordered to take post at the upper Fort to join part of the Schohary Militia who are at that post.

As this is the fifth Daysince the Enemycommenc'd their retreat, and having no Tidings of them from our Scouts who are kept out constantly, I flatter myself they do not mean to attempt the Destruction of this settlement at this Time; and the season being so far avanc'd leads me to think they will hardly return from their Holes, to renew an Expedition replete with Fatigue and Danger. Our Scouts tell us there is twelve Inches of Snow in the woods.

By the above Letter from Major Whiting to Colo. Butler, we learn that Colo. Alden is killed, and Colo. Stacey made Prisoner; the Scout from Colo. Alden's Regiment, consisting of two Subalterns and 12 privates, were taken or killed, which was the cause of the surprize. The most wanton destruction and horrid murders have been committed by the Enemy. The Settlement of Cherry Valley is entirely destroyed and about thirty men women and Children were massacred. By the best accounts we have been able to get of the Enemy's strength, they are about 600 Indians, 150 Tories, 50 British Troops and four British officers. I remain with great Esteem Your Excellency's most humble Servant,

Ab'm Ten Broeck.

His Excellency, George Clinton Esqr. &c.

[No. 1920.]

MILITIA NOT TO BE DISCHARGED.

In Consequence of the Startling News from Cherry and the Mohawk Valleys.

Nov'r 18, 1778 Pokeysie.

Sir, On the 17th Inst. I received a Letter from Genl. Hand of the 15th, inclosing Copies of several Papers & Letters, giving the following accounts: that on the 13th Instant Cherry Valley was destroyed by the Enemy, all the Buildings burnt, a Number of the Inhabitants, Men, women & Children barbarously murdered, Colo. Alden & some of his Regiment put to the Sword, and his Lt. Colo. (Stacy) some Officers & a few Privates and Inhabitants made Prisoners; that on the 14th Inst. after the Enemy were supposed to have gone off & the Militia was disbanded Fort Alden (in Cherry Valley) was taken by storm and from every Circumstance the Garrison cruelly murdered—& that on the same Day Fort Plank (lying on the Mohawk River) was attacked. Colo. Van Schaack was on his March for the Relief of Fort Plank and the Militia of Albany & Schenectady are ordered to cover the Frontiers and act as occasion requires. The Party of savages & Tories who have committed these Depredations are numerous, & from the best Intelligence I have received collected at the Tioga Branch of the Susquehanah, I suppose at Chemung, & are command'd by Brandt & young Butler & it is said there are some British Troops with them. I do not, therefore, think it wo'd be adviseable to discharge the Militia as suggested in your Letter of the 15th, till we have the most certain accounts of the Enemy's hav'g left the Frontier; and in the mean Time it wo'd be proper that strong Reconnoiting Parties be kept out towards the Delaware. You'l please to forward a Copy of this to Count Pulaski for his Information. I am &c.

[G. C.]

[To Col. Cortlandt.]

P. S. The enclosed return from the German Flats contains the number of Persons who draw Provision by order of Genl. Hand.

His Excellency George Clinton Esquire
Governor of the State of New York.

THE VICTIMS AT CHERRY VALLEY.

A genuine account of the slain, and prisoners taken in the action (of the Inhabitents) at Cherry Valley No'br 11th 1778.

Viz: 31 Killed and Barbarous massachred; 33 prisoners Carred off; 38 made prisoners and pirmited to Return.

Prisoners that is Carried off: Colo. Campbell's wife and four Children and a negro Boy; James Moore's wife and three Daughters; James Campbell, Jun'r; James Ramsa, two sons and two Daughters; Will'm McClellan and two Children; Hugh Mitchell's two Children; James Richey's servant Boy and negro man; Robt. Wells's Servant girl and negro man; Mathew Cannan and two Servant Boys; John Scott and two negros; Rev'd Mr. Dunlap's negro wench; Will'm Henderson; a Son of James Leshman.

To the Hounerable Briga'r General Hand, Commander in Cheif of the American forces in the Northern Department:

We, the undernamed Subscribers, at the Request, and in Behalf of the poor Distresed Inhabitents of Cherry Valley, who made their Escape in the Conflagration thereof, on the 11th and 12th of Nov'br 1778, Humbly Sheweth; That the persons and familys whose names in a Schedull is hereunto annexed, By Reason of the Loss and Distruction of their all, is Left in a Dolefull, Lament-

able, and Helpless Condition, Destitute (many of them) of meat, money, and Cloathing, Either for Back or Bed.

We, your Memorialists, Humbly pray your Houn'r to take the distressed Condition of these people into your Serious Consideration, and grant Such Supplys of provision, and wood, to those settled in and about Schenactady, as your Houn'r may think fit, and also advise, or devise Some ways and means, in your Houn's wisdom, wherby those distressed people may be Supplied with Some Cloathing, to Cover them from the Inclemency of the wether, and your Memorialists Shall Ever hold themselves in duty bound to pray.

Schenactady Nov'br 26th 1778.

John Moore Quo'm Justice,

Saml. Campbell, Colo.

James Willson, Capt.

The following is a List of the persons pointed at in the within Memorial:

Colo. Samuel Campbell's	family.....	5
Leiut. Colo. Samuel Clyd	Do.....	10
Cap't James Willson	Do.....	8
Leiuts. John and Saml. Campbell	Do.....	8
Adjutant James Cannan	Do.....	3
Rev'd William Johnston	Do.....	10
Will'm Dixon	Do.....	8
Netha'l Hammil	Do.....	2
Will'm Galt	Do.....	9
Rev'd Saml. Dunlap	Do.....	5
Will'm McLellan	Do.....	4
James Campbell	Do.....	11
Rich'd Johnston	Do.....	5

Rebacas Thompson, widdow	Do.....	6
Will'm Thompson	Do.....	12
James Scott	Do.....	6
James Moore	Do.....	3
James Marr	Do.....	4
James Lishman	Do.....	4
Alex'dr McCollom	Do.....	8
Daniel Ogdon	Do.....	7
Hugh Mitchell	Do.....	3
Azaria Holeburt	Do.....	1
Michal McDearmot	Do.....	6
Saml. Warfield	Do.....	4
John Campbell	Do.....	6
Will'm Cook	Do.....	4
Saml. Edkins	Do.....	4
Will'm McConnell	Do.....	3
James McCollom	Do.....	4

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THE SUFFERERS AT GERMAN FLATS.

A Return of the Refugees, or inhabitants of the German Flatts, that was Burn'd off, and lost their Effects by the Enemy. All above 16 years old, are allow'd one lb. Bread & one lb. Beef; and all under 16 years old, half a lb. of Bread, and half a lb. Beef, pr. Day.

Names of Persons:	above 16 years:	under 16 years:
Henry Herter	5	6
Frederick Bellinger	7	1
Thomas Volmer	3	5

I mentioned to his Excellency the Case of Marignon and he is of opinion that as the permit was granted and the Flour purchased for the special Purpose of supplying the French Fleet to which use it cannot now be applied it ought not to be removed out of the state if wanted by the army. If it is taken however it will be proper to pay Monsieur Marignon the Purchase money & his reasonable Expences. His Excellency nevertheless will not pretend to give any orders respecting it but leaves you to act agreeable to what you may conceive to be your Duty on this occasion.

With my best Respects to Mrs. Cuyler & Family I am Sir Yours
&c.

G. C.

Dec'r 30 1778.

[To Jacob Cuyler.]

[No. 1997.]

Oliver DeLancey Asks Permission to Visit His Mother.

Poughkeepsie Dec'r 23d 1778.

S'r, The bearer Mr. Oliver Delancey, was sent up from the Enemy's Lines by our army early last Spring & has been kept as a Prisoner on Parole ever since. He now applies for permission to go down to Westchester to return again, on a visit to his mother, who he says is sick. I inclose you a Letter & other Papers from Genl. Parsons* on the Subject & beg leave to submit the expediency of granting Mr. Delancey's request to your Determination. I am &c.

Geo. Clinton.

Major Genl. McDougall.

*Letter and paper not found.—STATE HISTORIAN.

[Nos. 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001.]
 EXCHANGING CHERRY VALLEY PRISONERS.

*The Pathetic Letter of Colonel William Harper—Severe Criticism of the Tryon County Militia—
 Correspondence on the Subject.*

A memorandum of the popell Killed wounded and Taken prisoner, and the buldings consumed at Cheryvaly, ye 11 Nov'r 1778, with ane account of the priseners, which the Enimi sent back on the 13th, two dayes after the action :

The Names of the heads of Families and how many Killed of each Famely.	How many yat pris- eners white & black	prisenors sent back	houses burned	Barns Burned	Mills and Smiths Shops	wounded
Mr. Wells	13					
Mr. Dunlap, his wife	3			2	1	
Mr. Moore, his wife & daughters	1	4		2		
Mr. Dickson, his wife	1			1		
Mr. Johnston's mother	1			1	Smith Shop 1	
Mr. McCland him selfe & obildering				1		
Mr. Ramsey his childering		1		1		
Mr. Ransey		5		1		
Mr. Scot, wife, 1 nager	2			1		
Mr. Mitchell wife child'r	5			1		
Mr. Willson				1		
Mr. Ritche his white sr						
Mr. Lishman		3				
Mr. Man		4				
Mr. Henderson him selfe						
Mr. Cannon wife 1 himselfe						
Coln. Camble his wife child'r						
Mr. Camble his son						himselfe 1
Mr. Bacon						
Mr. Shankland				2		
Mr. Hubbard wife child'r	4			2		
Mr. Slaghien				1		
Mrs. Bagnell hur husband now in Abany gall a enemy				1		
Mr. McCollom						
Mr. Johnston				1		
				1		

[illegible]

This return difers a litell from the furst on beter information the Return of the Contenentall Troupes I Received from the adjetent.

	Kiled	wounded	Taken					mising	
Colnel	Rank and file.	wounded	Luten Coln	Luten	Insine	Surgans mate	Sargant	Rank and File	Totall
1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	30

COLONEL HARPER'S LETTER.

Sir: I send you enclosed a leter from Walter Butler which he sent in by one of the priseners that he sent back. I see it with 1 other to Mrs. Wall. I thought Mager Whiting hade forwarded them till this instant that the inclosed came to hand; the other I understand is in the hand of the man that broght it. I shall send for it as sune as posable, and forward it to you, as I consave the exchange of Inhabitints, is more properly your provence then Genarell Schilers [Schuyler] but your Exselency is best Judg of that mater, and I am shuer you will do every thing in your power to releave our distresed frinds from wors then Divels.

Sir, you will see by the Return the number & Quality of the Priseners, Butler Epects a number equal to those he has sent back, but I must Inform you that a considarable part of them are Toryes, or strongly suspected, and such as oght to be sent back to him agane.

But, Sir, as wee have sent away considarable numbers of thare women & childering already, and severall of note amongst them, parhaps thay oght to be considered as exchanged, but if that shuld not be thoght proper wee have yat anugh to exchange for more than I hope will ever fall in to thare Barbours hands.

Sir, Mrs. Moore is my sister and Duty and natuer binds me to intret hur exchange and hur three daghters, whoo are all women grone, for whome my hart trembels, Least thay wors then Brutes shul treat them with wors then Death.

Liekwise Mr Cannen & his daghter, Coln. Campble's wife and hur for small childring.

I was informed by several of the prisenners that Butler sade he would keepe Mrs. Campble & Mrs. Moore & thare Childering till Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Wall, hur nese and his other frinds are exchanged for them.

I would, tharefore, pray that Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Wall, Mrs. Strachan, Mrs. Clement, Mrs. Harkemer & as many of thier families, as will be eaquell to Mrs. More and hur 3 childering and Mrs. Campble and hur 4 Childring, may be exchanged for them; and, thare is a old Scotch man at Johns Town, McDonald, father to Colaghe, whoo might be exchanged for Mr. Cannon, and thare is Ephram Marsh & Hector Sutherland, & a number of other Toryes in Albany Gall [gaol] whoo might be exchanged for the other men, as the Ramseyes & Hendurson; and for the Ms. Ramseyes & the other women, thar is Mrs. McGrear, Mrs. Crafort, 4 Mrs. McDonalds, Mrs. Picken with thar famelys, and Mrs. Hufee and a grate number more, if nead be, &, Sir, as wee are informed that Brant & Butler are yat in our nibourhud at Scenaveses, which doth not exsead 25 miles from Chery Valy; if your Exselancy shuld think proper to treat with them on ane exchange, I think the leters may be convayed with out any grat difucalty; and if it ware sune dun, I do not doubt but it might prevent the priseners being sent to Neagaro [Niagara] as I am fully of opinion that thay are yat at Chenanggo and Chughnut and the other Inden towns on the Siscohanno. Since the set-

ellment caled Coile was destroyed, which hapend a fue days after Chery Valy, the popel on the uper parts of the Mohock River, are moveing of very fast & the report of Brant & Butler lying so near at hand has struck the popell with such Teror that in a short time if thare is not a very Considerable Boddy of trupes sent, I doubt if thar is left a smoking hous above Sco-nackendy.

And as for our molittie [militia] thay are becum so yousles, that it is ondly puting the Cuntry to cost to call them out on duty two days after Cheryvaly was distred. Coln. Kuck [Klock] arived thare, thogh not exsading twenty fills distant warmed himselfe, and turned about, marched back without afording the distressed inhabitents the least asistence or releafe, even to bury the Ded or to colect the small remanes of thier Catell or goods; returning to the Mohock River he met with Coln. Fisher, who procaded to the Fort & thogh at that very time the priseners arived, which the enemy sent back, and informed us that Brant & Butler did propose to send back the rest of the women and Childering the next day; the wether being very bad and the distressed popell intreating that he would send out a party to meet them, if thay shuld be dismissed and helpe them back, and likewise to help colect the Dead and bury them, and to colect the small remanes of thier property, but thay culd not be prevaled one so much as one man, and wee had much ado to gate the wagons that came with them, to carry of sum of the most distressed popell that ever Ies behald, with out fode, without clothing, without even a shilter to cover them from the wether, which at that time was very distressing; and had not the Contentental trupes ben much moor humane then our nibours, thare must undoubtedly many of the Distressed have perished.

Sir, it is with regrate, I give you such information, but I think I am in duty bound to tel you the sitawation that wee are in, and hope you may devise sum way to secuer the small part of this cuntry yate in our hands; it is truly shocking to see the destruction of grane & catell & the distres of women & Childering in thease parts, and the dradfull apprehensions that the popell are under. I am, Sir, your most obadint and Humble Sarvent

William Harper.

Mohock Destrict Tryon County 2 De'r 1778.

To his Exselancy Gorge Clinton.

GOVERNOR CLINTON PROMISES TO DO ALL IN HIS POWER.

Poughkeepsie Dec'r 23d 1778.

Sir, I this Day rec'd your Letter of the 2d Inst. with that of Walter Butler* enclosed. I feel most sensibly for the Sufferings of the unfortunate Inhabitants of Cherry Valley & particularly for those who are in the hands of a Savage Enemy. As my Residence renders it impracticable for me to execute the Business, I have requested of Genl. Schuyler (to whom I have sent Butler's Letter) in conjunction with my brother Genl. Clinton, to take such steps as may be most likely to bring ab't an Exchange of our Cherry Valley friends, & as I have referred the matter altogether to them, I doubt not that they will do every Thing in their Power to effect the desired Exchange. Be assured, Sir, that I shall upon every Occasion contribute all in my Power for the Protection & Comfort of the Inhabitants on the frontiers of this State. I am with great Respect & Esteem, S'r, yours &c.

Geo. Clinton.

Wm. Harper, Esqr. Tryon County.

*Not found.

1779.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION

AGAINST

THE INDIANS OF NEW YORK.

A LETTER

FROM

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

TO

JUSTIN WINSOR

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

With the Journal

OF

WILLIAM McKENDRY.

CAMBRIDGE:

JOHN WILSON AND SON.

University Press.

1886.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION.

MR. WINSOR drew the attention of the Society to a copy of the manuscript journal of William McKendry, kept in large part during the expedition conducted by General Sullivan in 1779, which copy was made under the direction of the late Ellis Ames for the Society; and he recommended for publication with it in the Proceedings a letter from Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge, which gives a full and accurate account of all other existing journals of that expedition.

CAMBRIDGE, May 10, 1886.

JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq.,

Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR, — In the second volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society the presentation to the Society by Ellis Ames of a copy of a journal kept by William McKendry, a lieutenant in a Massachusetts regiment in active service during the years 1777–1780 inclusive, is duly recorded. I have glanced over this manuscript and find that it throws new light upon some points. The writer of the journal was at Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre. He was with Clinton's column in Sullivan's expedition. He describes the damming up of Lake Otsego, and says the water was raised one foot only. He states positively that Colonel Pauling did not join Clinton at Oquaga, — a statement in which other journals concur, but which directly contradicts Stone. He also contributes some valuable and interesting testimony as to the houses of the Indian towns.

There still remain unpublished several interesting journals which cover this campaign, and which would form a valuable contribution to the history of that time. Among them I rank the McKendry journal.

I have examined twenty-three published diaries, journals, or narratives of the Sullivan expedition. The names of the writers and the periods covered by the journals, together with the titles of the publications which contain them, are as follows : —

1. Barton, William, a lieutenant in the First New Jersey Regiment in Maxwell's Brigade. A diary or journal which extends from June 8 to Oct. 9, 1779, covering the whole campaign. It was published in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 22-43.

2. Beatty, Erkuries, a lieutenant and paymaster in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. An account of Van Schaick's expedition against the Onondaga towns is included in this journal. It also includes the Sullivan campaign. Beatty accompanied General Clinton. A portion of the journal was published in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879. The original manuscript is in the archives of the New York Historical Society, and has never been published as a whole.

3. Blake, Thomas, a lieutenant in the First New Hampshire Regiment. The journal extends from May 13, 1777, to Oct. 25, 1779, thus including the whole campaign. It was published in Kidder's "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment."

4. Campfield, Jabez, a surgeon in Spencer's New Jersey Regiment. The journal extends from May 23 to Oct. 2, 1779, covering the whole campaign. It was published in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," 2d series, vol. iii. pp. 117-136, and was printed in the "Wyoming County Democrat," Dec. 31, 1873, to Jan. 28, 1874.

5. Davis, Nathan, a private in the First New Hampshire Regiment. This was communicated to the "Historical Magazine" for April, 1868, by the Rev. Pliny H. White, President of the Vermont Historical Society. The article was entitled "History of the Expedition against the Five Nations commanded by General Sullivan in 1779," by Nathan Davis.

6. Dearborn, Henry, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Third New Hampshire Regiment. The journal extends from June 16 to Oct. 15, 1779. A portion of it was published in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879. Mr. Charles P. Greenough, of Boston, is the present owner of this journal; and through his courtesy I have been able to examine it.

7. Elmer, Ebenezer, a surgeon in Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade. Extracts from Elmer's journal, covering Sullivan's campaign to August 13, were printed in the "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society," vol. ii. pp. 43-50.

8. Fogg, Jeremiah, a staff-officer in Colonel Poor's Regiment. He held the position on the roster as captain in the Second New Hampshire Regiment. Poor was at that time a brigadier-general. One hundred and fifty copies of the journal were issued in pamphlet form, the type being in newspaper column. The pamphlet was entitled "Journal of Major Jeremiah Fogg, during the Expedition of General Sullivan in 1779, against the Western Indians;" the imprint being "Exeter, N. H., The Newsletter press, 1879."

9. Gano, Rev. John, a chaplain in Clinton's Brigade. This narrative

is to be found in the "Historical Magazine" for November, 1861. The article is entitled "A Chaplain of the Revolution," and was extracted from the Memoirs of the Rev. John Gano.

10. Gookin, Daniel, an ensign in the Second New Hampshire Regiment. The journal was published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for the year 1862, vol. xvi. p. 27, and was entitled "Revolutionary Journal of Daniel Gookin." It ends September 5, 1779.

11. Grant, George, a sergeant-major in the Third New Jersey Regiment. The journal was reprinted from the "Wyoming Republican" in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," vol. xiv. pp. 72-76. Extracts were printed in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879. The journal extends from May 17 to Nov. 3, 1779.

12. Grant, Thomas, supposed to have been one of the surveyors who accompanied Sullivan, surveyed the road travelled by the expedition, and measured the distances from camp to camp. This account, which was published in the "Historical Magazine" for 1862, vol. vi. p. 233 and p. 273, ends abruptly Sept. 25, 1779. Extracts were printed in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879.

13. Hardenburgh, John L., a lieutenant in Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. The journal extends from May 1 to Oct. 23, 1779, and was published in the "Cayuga County Historical Collections," No. 1, 1879.

14. Hubley, Adam, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. The journal extends from July 30 to Oct. 7, 1779. It was published in the Appendix to Miner's "History of Wyoming," and also in the "Pennsylvania Archives," 2d series, vol. xi.

15. Livermore, Daniel, a captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. This journal extends from May 17 to Dec. 7, 1779. It was published in the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society," vol. vi. p. 308.

16. Maxwell, Thompson. A narrative, published in the "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute," vol. vii. No. 3. It was communicated by Robert S. Rantoul, and is entitled "The Narrative of Major Thompson Maxwell."

17. Nukerck, Charles, a captain in the Second New York Regiment. The name is sometimes spelt Newkirk. In Hammersly's Register Nukerck's name is given as Mukirk, and his rank as captain-lieutenant. The journal extends from May 1, 1779, to Dec. 11, 1780. It was quoted by Campbell as the "Journal of an Officer," and referred to as such by O'Reilly. Stone spoke of it as the "Journal of Captain Theodosius Fowler." According to General Clark, extracts have also appeared in the writings of Thomas Maxwell, of Elmira, as from the journal of Colonel Gansevoort. The manuscript is in possession of Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wisconsin.

18. Norris, James, a captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment, according to an endorsement on the journal itself; but he was at this time, according to the roster, a major. This journal is generally spoken of as the "Journal of Major Norris," and is so called in the "Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society," vol. i. pp. 217-252. Extracts are published in Jones's "History of New York," vol. ii. note 1, p. 618. The journal extends from June 18 to Oct. 25, 1779.

19. Rogers, William, D.D., chaplain in Hand's Brigade. The journal extends from June 15 to and including August 28. At the latter date Rogers left Sullivan's army. It was printed in "Rhode Island Tracts," No. 7, with an introduction and notes by Sidney S. Rider. It is there credited to the "Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal of Providence," in which it appeared in 1823. It was copied into that paper from the "Philadelphia Gazette." A portion had already been printed at Philadelphia in the "American Universal Magazine" in 1797, vol. i. pp. 390-399; vol. ii. pp. 86-91, 200-206.

20. Salmon, John, orderly sergeant in Captain Simpson's Company. Salmon's account was printed in the first edition of Seaver's "Life of Mary Jemison." It was also printed in O'Reilly's "Sketches of Rochester." Captain Simpson's company formed part of a detachment from Morgan's Riflemen, which accompanied this expedition.

21. Shreve, John, a lieutenant in the Second New Jersey Regiment. A personal narrative, published in the "Magazine of American History," vol. iii. pp. 571, 572.

22. Van Campen, Moses. This account is often referred to as contained in a memorial presented to Congress. Van Campen's name frequently appears in the index to the Congressional Documents, but I have not been able to lay my hands on the Government publication containing this memorial. It was, however, reproduced in Pritt's "Border Life," etc.; and the substance of Van Campen's account of the campaign appears in "Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen," etc., by John N. Hubbard (Bath, N. Y., 1842).

23. Van Cortlandt, Philip, colonel commanding the Second New York Regiment. Van Cortlandt's account appears in the form of an autobiography, communicated to the "Magazine of American History" by Pierre C. Van Wyck, vol. ii. p. 278. According to Dr. Craft, it was originally published in the "Elmira Daily Advertiser," Feb. 17, 1879.

There remains one published diary, of which I have information, but which I have not seen, namely, —

24. Webb, Nathaniel, an officer said to have been in the Second New York Regiment. This diary was published in full in the "Elmira Daily Republican," Sept. 11 and 12, 1855.

Lists of the published and unpublished diaries and journals of the Sullivan campaign have been printed. The Rev. David Craft communicated such a list, May 9, 1779, to the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History

and Biography," vol. iii. pp. 348, 349, and at the same time appealed to the public for information. Another list was furnished by him to the "Magazine of American History," vol. iii. p. 673. In the latter the titles of nineteen journals, narratives, etc., which had at that time been published, were given, with information as to the places of deposit of the manuscripts and with statements as to the newspapers, magazines, or books in which they had been published. Mr. Craft also gave the titles and what is known about the places of deposit of a number of journals which had not at that time been published. Of these last, three, or portions of three, were used by General John S. Clark in working out the account of the Sullivan campaign, contributed by him and published in the "Collections of the Cayuga Historical Society," No. 1, 1879. In the same volume General Clark printed a list similar to that of Dr. Craft. Dr. Craft's No. 1 in the list in the "Magazine of American History" is identified by him as an imperfect copy of Norris's journal, and is so given in his list in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History."

Beside the published journals of this campaign which I have seen, I have also examined the following manuscript copies : —

25. Burrows, John, a major in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment. His rank on the roster is given as captain. It is an interesting journal, with observations upon the character of the country, etc., at the end of many of the daily entries. It extends from Aug. 23 to Oct. 13, 1779. The original manuscript is in possession of Mrs. Elizabeth Breese Stevens, Oneida, New York. For an opportunity to examine a copy of this journal I am indebted to Mr. Charles P. Greenough, of Boston.

26. McKendry, William, a lieutenant and quartermaster in Colonel Alden's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment. The journal begins October, 1777, and includes the Sullivan campaign. An opportunity to examine the copy in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society was kindly afforded me at the rooms of that Society.

27. Rogers, William. According to Craft, a quartermaster sergeant in Malcom's New York Regiment, but in 1779, according to General Clark, in the Second New York. This diary gives but an outline sketch of the campaign, the entries being merely of dates and distances travelled, with bare references to the principal events. The original is in the hands of B. L. Rogers, of Newark, New Jersey. Mr. Charles P. Greenough has a copy.

28. Shute, Samuel Moore, a lieutenant in the Second New Jersey Regiment. This journal covers from May 29 to Nov. 9, 1779, with the exception that a few leaves are gone. From what we know of the expedition, it is safe to say that nothing of importance is missing. General Clark states that the original is in possession of William E. Potter, of Bridgeton, New Jersey. Through the courtesy of William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General of New Jersey, I have had an opportunity to examine a copy.

The publishers of Chapman's "History of Wyoming" stated in the preface that the "Journal of Colonel John Jenkins" had been in their possession. This is probably the same as the following:—

29. Jenkins, John, a lieutenant in Captain Spalding's Independent Wyoming Company and guide in the expedition. The journal covers from June 5, 1778, to March 17, 1781. The original manuscript is said to be in possession of the Hon. Steuben Jenkins, of Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

The following manuscript journals are stated by Dr. Craft and General Clark to be in existence:—

30. Fellows, Moses, a sergeant in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. The journal covers from July 22 to Sept. 20, 1779. The original manuscript is in possession of A. Tiffany Norton, of Lima, New York.

31. Van Hovenburgh, Rudolph, said to have been a lieutenant in the Fifth New York Regiment. The name of Rand. Van Hovenburgh appears as a lieutenant on the roster of the Fourth New York. No similar name in the Fifth Regiment. He was with General Clinton. The journal covers from June 16, 1779, to Nov. 24, 1780.

I have been informed by General Clark that the New York Historical Society was presented, Feb. 10, 1886, with the journal of—

32. Roberts, Thomas, a sergeant in Captain Burrowes' Company, Spencer's New Jersey Regiment. The journal is incomplete. The portion in possession of the Society covers from May 29 to Sept. 10, 1779, with the exception that the leaves covering September 6 and 7 are missing.

Beside these there were once several other journals which are known to have been in existence, but which have disappeared. Miner speaks of one by Newman, and regrets that he has not room to print it. A list of these missing journals is given by General Clark.

Nos. 8, 21, 25, 26, and 32 in my list do not appear in the lists of Dr. Craft and General Clark. No. 1 of the lists furnished by those gentlemen is totally rejected. Although published without name in the "New Hampshire Patriot," at Portsmouth, Sept. 16, 1843, it has since been identified as an imperfect fragment of Norris's journal, and is not entitled to separate enumeration. The journal of Thomas Machin, also included in the published lists, relates exclusively to the campaign against the Onondagas.

I remain very respectfully yours,

A. McF. DAVIS.

P. S. Mr. Charles P. Greenough has compiled a roster of the officers who actually went on the Sullivan expedition. He was kind enough to permit me to compare it with this list of journals. Certain differences in the rating of officers and in their regiments, discovered by this comparison and by a separate comparison with Hammersly's Register, are noted above.

1777

Copy of the Journal of William McKendry, a Lieutenant in the Army of the Revolution and an Original Member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts, who died at Canton, Massachusetts, A.D. 1798.

Ditto 25 [i. e. October]. Col^o Alden drew some cloathing for y^e Reg^t.
A cold storm.

Ditto 26 & 27th A cold storm.

Ditto 28th Stormy and obliged to leave y^e camp, and go to y^e Town for shelter in y^e rain.

Ditto 29th Stormy, cold and Muddy.

Ditto 30th Albany Committee Set to Provide Barracks for Gen^l Nixons Brigade.

Ditto 31st The Brigade Moved into the Town and Billited in the houses myself Quartered at M^r Phillip Van Vaiters at y^e Mill.

1777. Nov^r 1st Fair and Pleasant Weather.

Ditto 2.. 3.. 4 & 5 Nothing worth notice.

Ditto 6th Rainy weather.

Ditto 7.. 8 & 9th Nothing worth notice.

Ditto 10th Stormy and cleared off cold the Pay Master got the money for y^e Reg^t

Nov^r 11th Nothing worth notice.

Ditto 12th Storm of Snow.

Ditto 13th 14.. 15 & 16. Nothing new.

Ditto 17th Col^o Alden Reg^t Muster'd some Squalls of Snow and very Cold.

Ditto 18.. 19.. 20 & 21st Nothing New.

Ditto 22^d Bought a horse at Publick Vendue in Albany Gave £13.. 7.. 0 £ Money.

Ditto 23.. 24.. 25 & 26. Nothing new.

Ditto 27th Lie^t Steel Died and was Buried 28th Ditto.

Ditto 29th A cold Storm hail Snow & Rain.

Ditto 30th Nothing New.

December 1st 1777. I mov'd to M^r Henrick R. Lansing near y^e City Hall.

Ditto 2.. 3.. 4 & 5 Cold.

December 6th Ensign Dewey Died of the Small Pox, very cold.

Ditto 7th Gen^l Gates order'd one half Gill of Rum to Be Deliver'd p^r man p^r Day until farther Orders.

Ditto 8th Nothing New.

Ditto 9th Some Soldiers Ordered to Schenactide to have the Small Pox.

Ditto 10th Sent y^e horses into y^e Country to be Kept by Gen^l Orders.

Ditto 11th 12.. 13.. 14. 15.. 16 & 17th Nothing New.

Ditto 18th Thanksgiving at Albany.

Ditto 19 .. 20 .. 22^d Nothing New.

Ditto 23^d Rec^d two Waggoners to Ride wood for Col^o Alden's Reg^t

Ditto 24 .. 25 .. 26 .. Nothing New.

Ditto 27th Lie^t Buffinton arriv'd at Albany from home.

Ditto 28 .. 29th Nothing New.

Ditto 30th Gen^l Gates left Albany for y^e Southard very cold weather.

Ditto 31st Lie^t Larry Try^d at a Gen^l Court Marshall for selling Soldier's Clothing and was Broke.

January 1st 1778 Adj^t White left Albany on furlow for Springfield.

Ditto 2^d A man was taken up and put into y^e City Hall on suspicion of Killing a man for his money, after found Guilty and was Hanged — a thaw.

Ditto 3^d Col^o Aldens Reg^t Musterd, Ens^a Pike Arrived in Camp from furlow.

Ditto 4th Nothing new.

Ditto 5 Cap^t Ballard left Albany on furlow for home.

Ditto 6 .. 7 .. 8 .. 9th Nothing New.

Ditto 10th M^t Elijah Tolman was appointed to command Cap^t Lanes' Compy.

Ditto 11th 1778. Moderate Snow storm.

Ditto 12th T. Taylor Rec^d 400 Lashes for striking Cap^t TooGood with his Gun; he belongs to Col^o Putmans Reg^t

Ditto 13 .. 14 .. 15 .. 16 .. 17 .. 18 .. 19 .. 20th Nothing new.

Ditto 21st Col^o Alden Drew one Weeks forrage for his horse in Albany.

Ditto 22^d 23^d Nothing new.

Ditto 24th Col^o Stacy Arriv'd in Camp from furlow.

Ditto 25th 26 .. 27 Nothing new.

Ditto 28th Maj^t Whitting left Albany on furlow for New England.

Ditto 29th Nothing new.

Ditto 30th Cap^t Day & Cap^t Warren Arriv'd in Camp in Albany with y^e Clothing for y^e officers; Sarj^t Dickerman and Corp^t Pettingill arriv'd ditto.

Ditto 31 Col^o Greateon and Quarter Master M'Mish left Albany for New England Col^o Alden took y^e command . . . a Snow Storm.

February 1st 1778. Ensign Parker arrived from furlow at Albany.

Ditto 2^d Nothing new.

Ditto 3^d Cap^t Coburn left Albany on furlow for New England.

Ditto 4th Nothing New.

Ditto 5th Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d

Ditto 6th A Brittish Soldier Rec^d 30 Lashes at y^e City Hall in Albany Put on by an Indian.

Ditto 7th A Smart Snow Storm.

Ditto 8th Nothing New.

Ditto 9th Col^o Alden left Albany on furlow for New England.

Ditto 10th Nothing new.

Ditto 11th Snow Storm Clear'd of with Rain.

Ditto 12th 13 .. 14 .. 15 .. 16 .. 17th Nothing new.

Ditto 18th Rec^d a Letter from New England from Cap^t Crane,

Ditto 19th The Troops Review'd By Gen^l De la fyatt from france.

Ditto 20 .. 22^d 23^d 24 Nothing New.

Ditto 25th Cap^t Partrick arriv'd at Albany from furlow.

Ditto 26 .. 27th Nothing New.

Ditto 28th Gen^l Arnold Left Albany for y^e Southard to his home he not Being able for y^e field by reason of his Late wound in his Leg — Lie^t Buffinton left Albany on furlow for New England.

March 1 .. 2 .. 3 .. 4th 1778 Nothing New.

Ditto 5th I left Albany on furlow for New England after going by the way of Hartford Arrivd y^e 10th at Stoughton. Left Stoughton 18th April 1778 after going by y^e way of Hartford, Newhaven Fish Kills arriv'd at Albany 23^d Instant 6. O Clock P. M. at M^t Lansing — Nothing in this time worth Entering.

April 24 .. 25 .. 26th 1778 Nothing New.

Ditto 27th Marchd from Albany for y^e Northward Col^o Greatons Reg^t & Col^o Aldens Arrived at half-moon Gen^l Conway commanded.

Ditto 28 .. 29 .. 30th Quartered at half moon the alarm from the Northard was false.

May 1st 1778. Marched from half-moon back for Albany and arrived 4 .. O Clock P M.

From the 2^d to y^e 13th Nothing new.

Ditto 14th Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d, a great Day of rejoicing at Albany for the News recieved from France fired 52 Cannon 3 Vollies from Small arms Gen^l Conway had the Command.

Ditto 15th There was two men hang'd at Albany One for Murder the Other for Robbery the Troops was under Arms.

Ditto 16 .. 17 .. 18 .. 19 .. 20th Nothing New.

Ditto 21st Col^o Greaton Arrived at Albany from furlow.

Ditto 22^d Col^o Greatons Reg^t Imbark'd for the high Lands and left Albany.

Ditto 23 .. 24 .. 25 .. 26 .. 27 .. 28 .. 29th Nothing new.

Ditto 30th Saturday Cap^t Partrick and Lie^t Maynard with a N^o of Troops from Col^o Aldens Reg^t Attack^d a N^o of Indians Command^d By one Brant at Covers Kill 59 miles S. West from Albany 12 O'Clock A. M. with Cap^t Partrick 1 Lie^t 1 Serj^t 1 Drum 1 fife 29 Soldiers — 6 Militia was Kill^d One Cap^t 15 Continental — 2 Militia — 3 Wounded — Lie^t Maynard and 3 more were taken.

June 1st 1778. Nothing new.

Ditto 2^d Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d Albany the Militia were ordered under Arms at this place for fear of the Tories Rising.

Ditto 3^d Cap^t Partrick and y^e men Killed with him were Buried By y^e Militia.

Ditto 4th Nothing new.

Ditto .. 5th Seven Men were hang^d at Albany all for Robbery One Rogers & in y^e N^o.

Ditto 6th Cap^t Partrick's Cloathing was sold at Vendue in Albany Am^t £64 .. 15 .. 0: £ Money Lie^t Maynard sold Ditto.

Ditto 7th 8 .. 9 .. 10th Nothing new.

Ditto 11th 1778 Col^o Alden's Reg^t under marching orders left y^e Barracks and was order^d to be search^d for Indian Silver, ordered to return into y^e Barracks again.

Ditto 12 .. 13 .. 14 .. 15 .. 16 .. 17 .. 18 .. 19 .. 20 .. 21 Nothing new.

Ditto 22^d Cap^t Day left Albany on Command.

Ditto 23^d Nothing new.

Ditto 24th Cap^t Ballard Lie^t Buffinton left Albany for Cognawagna and with them 2 Serj^t 2 D^m & Fife 42 Rank and file. — Proceeded as far as Cherry Valley 70 Miles West from Albany with them Comy Woodman. Capt Reed arriv^d from furlow at this place.

Ditto .. 25 .. 26 .. 27 .. 28 .. 29 .. 30th Very warm weather.

July .. 1 .. 2 .. 3 .. 4 .. 5 .. 6 .. 7 .. 8th Warm Thunder & Showers.

Ditto .. 9th Col^o Aldens Reg^t Muster^d, Turned out and took Col^o Weelocks Reg^t for refusing their duty.

Ditto .. 10th Col^o Aldens Reg^t rec^d orders to march for fort Stannix according to orders proceeded as far as Jacob Truaxes cripple Bush 11 Miles from Albany.

Ditto 11th arriv^d at Schenactida 9 . O'Clock A. M. 5 miles from Truaxes, Lodg^d at John .. Bab .. tist. Van Eps Jun^t 26 miles from Albany 10 miles from Schenactida lost the horses of y^e Reg^t and found them 10 O'Clock A. M.

Ditto 12th Din^d at Sir John Johnstons on Mohawk River Lodg^d at Major Fundays in Cognawagna had a Dutch Preist to pray with us and was much scar^d. — 17 miles from Van .. Eps.

Ditto .. 13th Dined at M^r M^cKennys Lodg^d at Major Yates 12 miles from Major Fundays in Conny Joharrow Mohawk river.

Ditto 14th Din^d at Maj^r Yates Set off from Maj^r Yates 4 O'Clock P. M. Cap^t Ballard join^d y^e Reg^t from Cherry Valley Lodg^d at Peter Wormwoods Palatina 4 miles from Maj^r Yates.

Ditto 15th March^d & Cross^d y^e ferry 4 miles from said Wormwood's 8 .. O'Clock A. M. Breakfast at Col^o Clocks 11 . O'clock A. M. Ariv^d at King Henricks Fort drink^d some grog in his pallace went into the Block Houses March^d from s^d pallace and stop^t at Peter digerts and drinkt some Grog ½ a mile from Gen^l Hercamons farm din^d at M^r Walter

Digerts 9 miles from Col^o Clocks. Cross^d y^e Ferry 2 miles from Walter Digerts at the Little Falls Lodg^d at John Peteries opposite Col^o Bellens at said little carrying place, 15 miles from Wormwoods.

Ditto 16th March^d from said Petries and forded y^e River arriv^d at y^e German flatts 8 O'Clock A. M. at Fort Dayton 7 miles from said petries. Drew provisions at said Fort for one day. Din^d in the Woods one mile from said Fort — March^d and made a small halt at Germin-town Fort Lodg^d at M^r Thompsons 10 miles from Fort Dayton — 17 Miles from Little falls — no Inhabitants Living at s^d Thompsons Cap^t Ballards Cow Broke her leg.

Ditto 17th March^d from said Thompsons, and cross^d y^e river at Fort Schyler made a halt, and, eat some dinner march^d to Aresco¹ fields an Indian Town and Incampt by y^e River 12 miles from Thompsons.

Ditto 18th March^d from Aresco fields 6. O'Clock A. M. and arriv^d at Fort Stannix 9' O'clock A. M. : Encampt below y^e fort, set up our huts with boards din^d with the Maj^r on Fresh Sammon — 8 miles from Aresco fields :

Ditto 19th Raised my Tent. Col^o Stacy mov^d out of y^e Fort into his Markee.

Ditto 20th Drew two days Provision a large Quantity of fresh Sammon brought to this fort by the Indians Six Shillings per Sammon L money — An Express arriv^d from the Southard another from Albany with orders from Gen^l Starks for Col^o Stacy to march his Reg^t to Cherry Valley.

Ditto 21st March^d from Fort Stannix 10 O'clock A. M. arriv^d at Aresco Fields, 12, O A. M. march^d On and cross^d y^e Creek near Fort scyler and waited some hours for the Batteau Lodg^d at said Thompsons mentioned going up.

Ditto 22^d March^d from said Thompsons & lodg^d at John Petries at y^e Little carrying place mentioned in my going up.

Ditto 23 March^d from said Petries took 12 Indians which had ben plundering y^e Inhabitants brought them by Col^o Stacy's . Order to Col^o Clocks din^d at said Clocks lodg^d at Maj^r Yates palatina went to Stone Robby for a Bullock to kill for y^e Reg^t to Cap^t Tigerts.

Ditto 24th March^d from Maj^r Yates & arriv^d at Cherry Valley 4 . . O Clock P. M. had some [blank] Had a heavy rain the Reg^t was rec^d with much joy with firing a Blunderbuss and one round from the Militia and Inhabitants which were Posted at Cherry Valley the first friend that offer^d to me was John Woodman afs^d at said Post.

Ditto 25th Drew two days provisions & went to the Rev^d M^r Dunlaps and drank Sillabub with discoursing the old Gentleman about Sundries affairs.

¹ The original seems to be thus ; but the name is Aresco or Aresca, usually given Oreska or Oreske. — J. W.

Ditto 26th Sunday went to Church — Text 1st Sam^l 12 verse M^r Johnston Chaplain — Col^o Stacy rec^d a letter from Gen^l Starks — Great encouragement that his Reg^t should not want for any thing that lay in his power to help them to.

Ditto 27th Mow^d and rak^d one hour for Rob^t Wills, Col^o Stacy, Adj^t White Ditto — Began to board with M^r James Richey twenty rods from Fort Alden.

Ditto 28th Heavy rain.

Ditto 29th Cap^t Lane arriv^d at Cherry Valley.

Ditto 30th Col^o Alden arriv^d at this place Paymaster Hickling ditto — Com^r Smith of Bay stores ditto — two pieces of cannon.

Ditto 31st Had a high corus Stamp^t hats fir^d a Cannon made an alarm.

August 1st 1778 Brought my horse from M^r Richey's Pasture.

Ditto 2^d Sunday, Attended Publick worship in Fort Alden.

Ditto 3^d Went to John Campbells and view^d some horses Drank some Cyder Supt with Lie^t Lunt and lodg^d at M^r Dunlaps.

Ditto 4th M^r Aaron Thompson lik^d to ben kill^d breaking a colt.

Ditto 5th Lost my horse — Capt Ballard Arriv^d from Scout the troops mov^d from Col^o Campbell's to the Fort.

Ditto 6th M^r Richey mov^d from Cherry Valley for Albany for fear of the Enemy.

Ditto 7th Began to build the Redout at Fort Alden.

Ditto 8th Went to the beaver dam to M^r Harper's Saw Mill for boards — Sent my horse to y^e beaver dam to pasture to M^r Hammells.

Ditto 9th Cap^t Lane joined y^e comp^r Mess at M^r Richeys.

Ditto 10 Pleasant Weather.

Ditto 11th Cap^t Ballard arriv^d at Lie^t Campbells from y^e Butter-nuts went to M^r Ramsies and drank milk Punch with Cap^t Parker and Com^y Woodman.

Ditto 12th Cap^t Ballard arriv^d from a Scout at Cherry Valley brought in with him from y^e Butter Nuts 73 head of horn Cattle 40 Sheep 14 Horses 14 Tories.

Ditto 13th Cap^t Ballard Set out for Albany with a guard and y^e Tories.

Ditto 14th Rode to y^e beaver dam and Saw Mill with Col^o Stacy.

Augst 15th Fort Alden was named by Cap^t Hickling went in y^e evening to Col^o Aldens Quarters and drank Milk Punch.

Ditto 16th Col^o Whelock arriv^d from a Scout from Unadilla.

Ditto 17th Lie^t Holden and Lie^t Carter arriv^d at Cherry Valley.

Ditto 18th Lie^t Holden began to board at M^r Richeys.

Ditto 19th Commissary Smith left Cherry Valley after more stores.

Ditto 20 . . 21 . . 22^d Nothing New.

Ditto 23^d Col^o Stacy Arriv^d from Scout inform^d us that one of our men kill^d an Indian, which prov^d true.

Ditto 24th Lie^t Trowbridge arriv^d at Cherry Valley.

Ditto 25th Went to Col. Campbells and se y^e Dominies bee Wool breaking.

Ditto 26th Went to harmony Hall and drank some Grog.

Ditto 27th Went to the beavers dam on horse back with all the field Officers, had a high Corus running horses.

Ditto 28 .. 29 .. 30th Some rain.

Ditto 31st Went to Maj^r Clydes.

September 1st 1778 Nothing new.

Ditto 2^d Commissary Woodman went to Stone Robby Cap^t Lane went to the Salt Spring.

Ditto 3^d Nothing new.

Ditto 4th Cap^t Ballard arriv^d from Albany, Lie^t Bratt wounded an Indian.

Ditto 5th Com^r Woodman arriv^d from the river.

Ditto 6th Nothing new.

Ditto 7th Went to harmony hall.

Ditto 8th Sent to Albany for y^e Baggage of the Reg^t

Ditto 9th Capt M^cKeen Arriv^d from Scout fir^d some Gun's at the Beaver Dam, alarm^d the Camp detach^t a party from the fort march^d one mile and found it to be a false Alarm — returned to the Fort again — Cap^t M^cKeen brought in three prisoners from Unadilla.

Ditto 10 .. 11th Nothing new.

Ditto 12th Rain and Cold for y^e Season.

Ditto 13th Nothing new.

Ditto 14th Cap^t Ballard's Tory stock Sold at Vendue.

Ditto 15th The Baggage Arriv^d from Albany for the Reg^t

Ditto 16th Nothing new.

Ditto 17th Alarm Brant with a party of Indians and Tories burnt German flatts 44 houses 44 barns Kill^d three men, drove off 90 head of Continental Fat Cattle besides those took from the Inhabitants a large N^o burnt grane without measure, a detachment from Col^o Aldens Reg^t under the command of Maj^r Dan^l Whitting pursu^d them but without much success being detained by one Cowardly Col^o Clock — The Major brought in three of their men prisoners which were taken under Arms.

Ditto 18th Col. Clock arriv^d at M^t moore 4 miles from this Garrison and returned back by reason of and false alarm made by the Tories at Mohawk River.

Ditto 19 .. 20th Nothing new.

Ditto 21st Maj^r Whitting returnd from Scout with 3 prisoners Mentioned above.

Ditto 22^d 23^d Nothing New.

Ditto 24th Com^y Smith Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with Bay Stores.

Sep^r 25th Col Aldens Reg^t Muster^d at Cherry Valley the Reg^t was arrang^d.

Ditto 26th Lie^t Holden Mov^d from M^r Richeys to Col. Campbell's.

Ditto .. 27th Lie^t Benjⁱⁿ Billing left Cherry Valley for home by reason of dissatisfaction in the Rank of y^e Reg^t

Ditto 28th Nothing new.

Ditto 29th Rode towards Springfield with the Com^y Stop^t at M^r Culleys heavy rain.

Ditto 30th Cap^t Hickling left Cherry valley after Money for the Reg^t — Brought my horse from y^e beaver dam.

October 1778.. 1.. 2^d 3.. 4th Nothing new.

Ditto 5th M^r Richey arriv^d at Cherry Valley from Albany.

Ditto 6th Col Stacy & Cap^t Ballard had a horse race Col Stacy won the bet.

Ditto. 7th 8.. 9.. 10.. 11.. 12.. 13.. 14th Nothing new.

Ditto 15th Went to the Salt springs in y^e Evening wet my appointment wine .. 28 .. Dollars.

Ditto 16th Lie^t W^m White wet his appointment in M^r Richeys with wine Am^t 36 dollars.

Ditto 17.. 18.. 19.. 20th Nothing new.

Ditto 21st Rode out to Springfield with the Com^y and M^r Witter Johnston 6 miles from Cherry Valley.

Ditto 22^d Rode to Dominies Johnston's in Company with Cap^t Reed & Com^y Woodman to the wedding of Cap^t M^cKeen and M^{rs} Jenny Campbell.

Ditto 23^d Serj^t Elijah Dickerman & Letty Gibbens was Married at the house of Jam^s Richey; in Cherry Valley. By the Rev^d M^r Johnston late of Tunadilla drank seven Gall .. wine.

Ditto 24th Nothing new.

Ditto 25 Com^y Smith left Cherry Valley.

Ditto 26th Had a field day fir^d six rounds per man.

Ditto 27th Col Alden left Cherry Valley for Albany.

Ditto .. 28.. 29.. 30.. 31st Nothing New.

November 1st 1778 Some snow at this place.

Ditto 2^d .. 3^d Nothing new.

Ditto 4th Cap^t Hickling Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with money for y^e Reg^t

Ditto 5th 6.. 7.. 8.. 9.. 10th Nothing new.

Ditto 11th Alarm 11. O'Clock A. M. M^r Hammell coming from the Beaver Dam, was fir^d uppon by y^e Indians and was wounded he being on horse rode off and got clear it being half a mile from the fort: he rode to Col. Alden's Quarters and informed him of the matter — Immediately came on 442 Indians from the five Nations 200 Tories under the command of one Col Butler and Cap^t Brant, attack^d head Quarters

Kill^d Col. Alden took Col. Stacy prisoner attacked fort Alden after three hours retreated without success of taking the fort kill^d of the Reg^t 14 men Names (Viz.)

Ichabod Alden
Rob^t Henderson
Thomas Sheldon
Gideon Day
Benjⁿ Worsley
Pet. Adams
Thoma Mires

Thomas Holden
Daniel Dudley
Enos Blakeley
Thomas Noles
Oliver Deball
Simeon Hopkins
Rob^t Bray.¹

Nov^r 11th Took prisoners from y^e Reg^t W^m Stacy, Lie^t Col. Aaron Holden Lie^t, Andrew Garret Ensⁿ Suzer De Beaver Surgⁿ Mate 11 Soldiers their Names not mentioned.

Kill^d of y^e Inhabitants 30 persons
took of „ Ditto 34 Ditto
Wounded 2 Ditto one of the Reg^t
Burnt — 20 houses 25 Barns 2 Mills

N. B. a rainy day.

Ditto 12th Sent out and fetch^d in Col Alden and Buried him under Arms with firing three vollies over his Grave — Brant came with 100 Indians 8 . . O'Clock A. M. to attack y^e fort y^e Second time but receiving two or three Shots from the Cannon gave Back left y^e Fort 3 'O'clock P. M. Brought in a N^o of the Dead Bodies.

Ditto 13th Col^o Clock arriv^d at fort Alden 12 O'Clock A. M. after a long cowardly March of 12 miles with 400 men left y^e fort in about one hour and march^d back for Mohawk River — Brought in Huew Mitchal's wife and four Children all Dead & Scalpt with a N^o of other Dead bodies.

Ditto 14th An Express arriv^d from Col. Butler Commanding at Schoharrow that he was advancing with 500 men to y^e relief of fort Alden — Snow Rain.

Ditto 15th A heavy Snow storm fell two feet deep.

Ditto 16th found Cap^t Scott's Wife dead and was buried.

Ditto 17th An Express arriv^d from Schoharrow.

Ditto 18th Nothing new.

Ditto 19th Very cold and blustering.

„ 20th Lie^t Trowbridge Set out for Albany Cap^t Ballard found two Bar's of Cyder.

Ditto 21st Nothing new.

Ditto 22^d Alarm said that the Indians was discover'd at M^r Culleys detach^t out a party from Col. Alden's Reg^t and March^d to Said Culleys and the Indians turn^d out to be our own men.

¹ The name of James Parmineter is erased.

Ditto 23^d 24th 25th Nothing new.

Ditto 26th Thanksgiving at this place, found one of our men dead & was buried kill^d by y^e Indians in the 11th

Ditto 27th Nothing new.

Ditto 28th The Muster Master and pay Master Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with the Cloathing for the Reg^t, it was very good.

Ditto 29th The Late Col Alden's Reg^t Muster^d by Cap^t Lush in Fort Alden, one man died of his wound Rec^d in the Action of y^e 11th Instant.

Ditto 30th Cold and Blustering.

December 1st 2^d Nothing new.

Ditto 3^d Cap^t Warren, Lie^t Thorp, Lie^t Curtis, Left Cherry Valley on furlow for New England.

Ditto 4th Lie^t Trowbridge left camp for Albany.

„ 5th John Stacy began to live with me.

Ditto 6..7..8..9 Nothing New.

Ditto 10th Snow Storm 12 inches deep.

„ 11th Rec^d three letters from Stoughton by y^{er} hand of Corp^l Hewins.

Ditto 12th 13th Nothing new.

„ 14 Cap^t Reed, Lie^t Lunt, Lie^t Givins, left camp in cherry valley on furlow for New England.

Ditto 15..16..17..18th Nothing new.

„ 19th Pay Master Tucker arriv^d at Cherry Valley with 2 months pay.

Ditto 20th Very warm for the Season.

„ 21st Began to Snow.

December 22^d 23..24 Nothing new.

Ditto 25th Maj^r Daniel Whitting and Paymaster Tucker, left cherry Valley for Boston after clothing for y^e officers.

Ditto 26..27..28..29..30..31st Nothing new.

1779. Jan^y 1..2..3..4..5..6th Nothing new.

Ditto 7th The late Col^o Aldens Reg^t was muster^d by Col. Varrack at cherry Valley.

Ditto 8th W^m Hancock rec^d 100 lashes for theft — Cap^t Lane arrested for affronting Cap^t Ballard.

Ditto 9th Began to Snow. Com^y Woodman arriv^d from y^e River.

Ditto 10th 11..12..13..14th Nothing new.

Ditto 15th Cap^t Lane M^r Johnston and M^r Richey left cherry Valley for Albany.

Ditto 16..17th Nothing new.

Ditto 18th Went to Newtown Martin and bought two stacks of hay from James Bradshaw y^e weather very cold.

Ditto 19th 20..21st Nothing new.

Ditto 22^d Serj^t Dickerman with his wife left Cherry Valley for Stoughton, had leave of absence for 30 days.

Ditto 23^d 24th..25th Nothing new.

Ditto 26th Set out with 11 officers of the late Col. Alden's Reg^t for Fort Plank for the tryal of Cap^t Lane din^d at Fort Plank lodg^d at Goshen Van alstines on Mohawk River.

Ditto 27th Waited on the Court Marshall at M^r Severs in pallatina din^d ditto — Arriv^d at Fort Alden 9..O Clock P. M.

Ditto 28th 29th Nothing new.

Ditto 30th Rec^d a Quantity of Camp Equipage from Col Lewin [Lewis?] in Albany.

Ditto 31st Cold and blustering.

Feb^y 1st 1779 Cold.

Ditto 2^d Found Simeon Hopkins dead in y^e woods who was kill^d in the Action of the 11th Nov^r last and was buried at this garrison.

Ditto 3^d Heavy rain and Thaw.

„ 4th Very cold and froze hard.

„ 5th Very cold & blustering with Snow and wind.

Ditto 6th Cap^t Ballard sent out a Scout consisting of 17 men command^d by Lie^t Day to proceed as far as Lake Otsago 15 miles.

Ditto 7th Lie^t Day return^d without making any discoveries of y^e enemy.

Ditto 8th Nothing new.

Ditto 9th Maj^r Whitting arriv^d from furlow at cherry Valley.

February 10th Le^t Trowbridge arriv^d from Albany the weather warm.

Ditto 11th Cold and froze hard Lie^t Carter began to bile Sugar at cherry Valley.

Ditto 12th Left Fort Alden with Doc^r Brown 2 O'Clock P. M. & Rode to Bowman's Creek 5 miles, drank tea at M^r Wills — Serj^t Hunter arriv^d at said Wills from Schoharrow. lately deserted from y^e Indians 60 miles below Ocquango. — Gave us an account that he left them 25th Jan^y..1779, and another man with him said Hunter was taken on a Scout 10th Nov^r 1778. y^e day before y^e destruction of Cherry Valley — Informs that he was 7 days in the woods with little or no provisions — Informs that the last he knew of Col. Stacy he was well and in Good spirits; and told him not to mind it for it was only the fortune of war — Col. Stacy was in the hands of Col. Butler, and that the French Doctor was not very well — Says that only one of his party was Kill^d when he was taken, one Robert Bray when he ran from the Indian he brought off one brass Kettle and axe which he supposed much affronted y^e Indians as they Set much by them, further says not. I Bought 25 Skipples of pees from M^r Lyon afterward returned to fort Alden 9. O'Clock P. M.: two Small Scout sent from fort Alden, return^d without making any discoveries.

Ditto 13th Went into y^e woods with Cap^t Lane to tap Sugar trees, Katch^d 8 Palefulls — a Small Scout went out this day from fort Alden returned without making any discoveries.

Ditto 14th Sunday. — Rainy weather Orders came from Gen^l Clinton for two Companies to be detach^d from fort Alden & Sent to fort Hercamin.

Ditto 15th Rode to Bowman's Creek for Waggon^s to carry y^e baggage — Cap^t Lanes Sentance Read on y^e parade and clear^d from his Arrest.

Ditto 16th 11 . O'Clock A. M. Cap^t Coburn march^d from Fort Alden for Fort Hercamin; with 1 Cap^t Lie^t 2 Subs : 6 Serj^t 6 Corp^t 4. D^r & fife Rank and file.

Ditto 17th An Express arriv^d from fort Plank to fort Alden Informs with two Letters from Onida that y^e Indians were On their march, but to what part they could not say.

Ditto 18th The inhabitants began to move into Fort Alden for fear of the Indians — Some snow and rain.

Ditto 19th Some rain pay M^r Tucker wrote to Maj^r Whitting and Inform^d him that he was at Mohawk river, with the money for the Reg^t & wanted orders to proceed which were Granted.

Ditto 20th Paymaster Tucker Arriv^d at Cherry Valley with two Months pay for the Reg^t.

Ditto 21st Paid the Reg^t &c.

„ 22^d Paymaster left Fort Alden for fort Hercamin.

„ 23 The Weather cool — was inform^d that Col^o Gansworth's Reg^t was on their march up Mohawk River.

Ditto 24th Cold & Blustering.

„ 25th Adj^t White left Fort Alden for Albany for a furlow.

Ditto 26th Snow and Rain mov^d from the meeting house into y^e Block house West-end of the Fort with Cap^t Lane and the Com^r — M^r Culley's family mov^d from Fort Alden to y^e Mohawk River.

Ditto 27th Lie^t Curtis and Lie^t Thorp arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow rec^d 3 letters from Stoughton.

Ditto 28th An Express arriv^d from fort plank & informs that two Scout of the Indians were out 18 days and where destin^d they could not tell one of 30 the other 100 men.

March 1st 1779. Capt. B. Warren, Arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow.

Ditto 2^d Pleasant weather &c.

„ 3^d Made Sugar Troughs and katch^d some Sap.

„ 4th An Express arriv^d from Fort plank at Fort Alden Informs, that the enemy was on their move and was supposed that the Mohawk River was their object the intelligence came by two Indians from Niaugary Sent an Express from Fort Alden to Schoharrow to Inform them of the matter.

Ditto 5th Snow^d very fast this day.

„ 6th Some snow — W^m Hancock Rec^d 100 Lashes for theft — The late Col. Alden's Reg^t Muster^d in Fort Alden by M^r Lush D. M. master.

March 7th Sunday. Some Snow.

Ditto 8th Dull weather went to W^m Shanklins & brought in some oats.

Ditto 9th Some Snow — brought some hay from Newtown martin.

Ditto 10th Rode to Bowman's Creek with Doc^t Brown to purchase Oats & purchas^d 40 Skipples — Din^d at M^r Hickeys return^d to Fort Alden.

Ditto 11th Thunder and lightening some snow.

„ 12th Snowy day — Sent to Bowman's Creek for Oats.

„ 13th Col. Clyde & Doc^t Younglove arriv^d at Fort Alden.

„ 14th Sunday — Snow^d this day — Eleven nine-months men discharg^d from fort Alden.

Ditto 15th Cold & Clear for the season.

Ditto 16th Nothing new.

„ 17th Cap^t Tilman arriv^d at Fort Alden from Albany.

„ 18th Clear and cool &c.

„ 19th Some Snow — Cap^t Day arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow.

Ditto 20th Left Fort Alden with Com^d Woodman — crossed Mohawk River at Goshen Van Alstines din^d five miles West from Maj^r Fundars lodged at Sir W^m Castle.

Ditto 21st Sunday. Left Sir W^m Castle and din^d at Schenectady at M^r Johnstons — Snow^d in the after-noon Arriv^d at Albany at M^r Henry R. Lansings 5 . O'Clock, P. M.

Ditto 22^d Snow^d in the morning — saw Lie^t Lunt — arriv^d from furlow.

Ditto 23^d Lie^t Peebody left Albany on furlow — drank some punch at Cap^t Bogerts with Col^o Lewis & M^r Lansing.

March 24th Snowy day. A man was found dead between Albany and Schenectady in the highway.

Ditto 25th Snow^y day and dull weather.

„ 26th & 27 Nothing New.

„ 28th Sunday — Pleasant weather went to Church to hear M^r Levingston.

Ditto 29th Left . Albany with Com^d Woodman 9 . O'Clock A. M Din^d at Schenectidy & Lodg^d at Sir W^m Castle.

Ditto 30th Left Sir W^m Castle 8 . O'Clock A. M. — din^d at mart Van Alstines — Arriv^d at Fort Alden 6 . O'clock P . . M . . Snow 3 feet deep.

Ditto 31st Pleasant weather bil^d 16 lb Sugar.

April 1st 1779. Pleasant warm.. Snow two feet deep in Cherry Valley.

Ditto 2^d Pleasant weather snow went off fast.

„ 3^d Sultry hot Thunder and showers.

„ 4 Sunday. Cap^t Day left Fort Alden, for Fort Hercamin to take the com^d there; Snow all gone.

Ditto 5th Fort Alden alarm^d fir^d two Cannon it was said that some Indians was discover^d at the Beaver dam but turn^d out to be a false Alarm — one of the soldiers kill^d a wolf.

Ditto 6th Some snow and rain, cool weather Serj^t Smith arriv^d from furlow in fort Alden.

Ditto 7th Pleasant Weather.

„ 8th This day orders came to fort Alden for a detachment to March to fort Schyler.

Ditto 9th Cap^t Lane march^d from fort Alden for Fort Schyler with 2 subs 3 Serj^t 3 Corpls, 52 rank and file.

Ditto 10th Pleasant and warm.

Ditto 11th Sunday — The Guard mounted with Serj^t & Corp^{ls} only in fort Alden to spell the men duty so hard.

Ditto 12th Weather cool & some Rain.

Ditto 13th This day Fort plank Alarm^d fir^d three cannon some Indians seen back of Johnston and took six prisoners by waylaying y^e Road one of them escap^d

Ditto 14..15..16..& 17th Nothing remarkable — some snow fell.

„ 18th Sunday — cool & Snow Storm.

„ 19th Some snow fell Serj^t Wright return^d from Albany.

„ 20th Pleasant weather — made in my mess this spring 168 pounds of Maple Sugar in Cherry Valley.

Ditto 21st This day was Inform^d that one man was kill^d in Stone Arabia by the Indians & 5 prisoners taken above Fort plank.

Ditto 22^d This day was inform^d that a Cap^t of Militia in Tille Bar-rack back of Stone Arabia with 6 men fought y^e Indians y^e Cap^t lost 2 men & kill^d 4 Indians y^e Cap^t's wife was wounded — his son kill^d

Three Indians discov^d On brimstone hill by one of the inhabitants.

Ditto 23^d This day Ira Johnston arriv^d in Fort Alden, ran from the Indians he was taken 11th Nov^r last in Cherry Valley the way he left them was, he had been 150 miles twice last winter for corn for the Indians and carried one bushel on his back s^d way — the 3^d time came for corn within 20 miles of the Onida Castle where Continental troops were stationed — in the night ran from the Indian that he was with and reach^d Onida Castle was follow^d by y^e Indian but not overtaken — from said Castle came to Fort Schyler, from that to Fort Alden — inform^d us that Col Stacy Lie^t Holden & Ensign Garrett was all well the

last he had heard from them the rest of the prisoners were scattered among y^e Indians.

Ditto 24th Serj^t Merrill return^d from furlow at Fort Alden.

April 25th Sunday. Pleasant weather.

„ 26th Bought a horse in Cherry Valley Gave 105 Dollars for him.

Ditto 27th Pleasant weather.

„ 28. Some showers, Froze hard in the night.

„ 29th This day Cap^t Lane arriv^d in fort Alden from his Scout —
 Informs that he had been with a party under the command of Col. Van
 Scoik and cut of three Indian Castles at Onidauga [kill^d] 60 took 33
 prisoners, burnt 47 houses and large quantities of corn — not one of
 the party kill^d.

Ditto 30th Some rain and some snow — cold for the season &c.

May 1st Pleasant weather — Nothing new.

„ 2^d (Sunday) This day a man arriv^d at Fort Alden — ran from
 the Indians was taken about a month ago, above fort Plank near Mo-
 hawk river he informs that Butler is out with a party of Indians, the
 late Prisoner has ben 8 days without any food excepting roots that he
 gather^d on his way.

Ditto 3^d Pleasant weather — This day sent our horses to pasture —
 some showers in the afternoon.

Ditto 4th The late Col Alden's Reg^t muster^d by Cap^t Lush — Cap^t
 Reed arriv^d at Fort Alden from furlow Lie^t Buffinton L^t Givins, gone
 to Fort Hercamin.

Ditto 5th Cap^t Ballard & Cap^t Bogert from Albany went to the foot
 of Lake Otsago, to look out a good landing for the stores to be sent to
 that place — some squalls of snow to day.

Ditto 6th Cool weather for the season.

„ 7 Doctor Brown and Pay M^r Tucker arriv^d from Albany at
 Fort Alden.

May 8th Pay-Master .. began to pay the Reg^t.

„ 9th Sunday. Pleasant weather John Tolman arriv^d at Fort
 Alden from Stoughton.

Ditto 10th Pleasant weather &c.

„ 11th P. M. left Fort Alden for Fort Herciman.

„ 12th This day was Inform^d, that at the great flats a few days
 agoone was kill^d and Scalpt two men & three women one woman taken
 prisoner, two women more were scalp^t and are yet alive all done by the
 Indians.

Ditto 13. Some Rain and Cool.

„ 14th This day was inform^d that a large N^o of Indians was dis-
 cov^d not far from fort Plank — a scout Ordered with 4 days provisions
 ffrom Fort Alden — tomorrow to make discoveries — the people left
 Bowman's Creek — two families mov^d. to fort Alden.

Ditto 15th Ensⁿ. Parker arriv^d at Fort Alden from Fort Herkiman from his Command.

Ditto 16th (Sunday) Lie^t Carter left Fort Alden with the Regemental return for Albany — Some of the enemy discoverd near this garrison this evening.

Ditto 17th 3 . O clock this morning the centry discharg^d his piece at a man that was making towards him the garrison was alarm'd and man'd the lines, the Enemy was discover^d no more at this time — Lie^t Lunt was appointed to do the duty of an Adjutant.

Ditto 18th Some rain and cloudy dark weather.

May 19th This morning 9 . O'Clock. I left Fort Alden with Lie^t Day and com^y Woodman for Mohawk river after flour for the Garrison — din^d at Goshen Van. Alstines. Some rain this day.

May 20th Left the River 2 . O'Clock P.M. Rain^d very hard. Arrived at Fort Alden 6 O clock P M. was very wet.

Ditto 21st Some Rain this morning.

„ 22^d Cap^t Lane and Lie^t Curtis ran a race Cap^t Lane was beat.

Ditto 23^d (Sunday) Very pleasant this day.

Ditto 24th Pinkster day among the Dutch.

Ditto 25th Col Clyde arriv^d at Fort Alden — Informs that Col. Gansworts Reg^t was on their march up Mohawk River.

Ditto 26th Some rain this day, sold my two horses for 750 dollars L^t Carter arriv^d from Albany.

Ditto 27th This afternoon about 7 O Clock three men was discover^d within musket shot of this Garrison the centry fir^d on them they made to the bush and were seen no more the lines were man^d we supposed them to be spies.

Ditto 28th This day three men were discoverd again near the garri-son, Serj^t Clerk fir^d his Rifle at them they made off — sent a party of men after them, but could not over take them.

Ditto 29th Adj^t White arriv^d in Fort Alden from Boston with the Gratuity money for some of y^e men.

Ditto 30 (Sunday) Went out as far as M^r Larklins with Doctor Brown and Com^y Woodman to view that part of the Town.

Ditto 31st Sent the baggage of the Reg^t to Albany agreeable to the generals orders — Serj^t Cutting, Serj^t Connant with two french Re-cruits arriv^d in Fort Alden — A man was shot in Albany this day. — Adj^t set out for Fort Herkimen.

June 1st Lie^t Day left Fort Alden for Albany on command, adj^t White return^d from Fort Herkimin.

Ditto 2^d Cool weather for the season — This day was inform^d not many days ago 6 Indians took two men prisoners from turlough [*sic*] (12 miles from Fort Alden) carried them as far as Ocquaugo where two of the indians left the party to go on to inform their brothers of their

success, when the 4 that was left got asleep the two prisoners took their hatchets and kill^d 2 of the Indians the other 2 awoke and started the white men being two ready for them wounded them both and the 2 Indians fled, the two late prisoners took the Indian's Arms of the dead & those that had fled with only their lives, and made their escape — the Indians soon were alarm^d in that quarter and came to the ground, Set the woods all on fire, so that they might discover their tracks that had made their escape, but to no purpose the 2 late English prisoners escap^d clear — I have had the pleasure since to see the man that kill^d the two Indians it was M^r Sawyer.

Ditto 3^d. A very hard frost last night which kill^d the blossoms at this place.

Ditto 4th. This morning 2 O Clock this garrison was alarm^d the centry had fir^d on a man that was creeping towards him but soon ran off and was discoverd no more the lines were man^d.

Ditto 5th P. master Tucker arriv^d in Fort Alden with clothing for the Reg^t — Informs that the British Troops has got to the highlands above N. York — Lie^t Peebody arriv^d in Fort Alden from Furlow.

June 6th (Sunday) L^t Day arriv^d in Fort Alden from Albany.

Ditto 7th P master Tucker gave out the cloathing to the Reg^t in this garrison.

Ditto 8th . . P master Tucker left Fort Alden with cloathing for the men at Fort Herkiman.

Ditto 9th Warm and showry.

Ditto 10th. This day the Centry discov^d a man creeping towards the wood choppers centry fir^d on him he was seen no more.

Ditto 11th. Cold weather for the season.

„ 12th. A Scout was ordered from Fort Alden, return^d without making any discoveries of the enemy.

Ditto 13 (Sunday) Heavy rain, — this day was informed — that some days agone the Indians took 6 prisoners from Germantown above German-Flatts and let one of them return which was an old woman.

Ditto 14th This day Orders came to Maj^r Whiting from Gen^l Clinton, for the Reg^t to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning and Gen^l Clinton was to make his Head quarters in Cennago-harry for a few days.

Ditto 15th The Provisions in Fort Alden all condem^d. Com^r Woodman went to Mohawk River after provisions for the Garrison.

Ditto 16th Maj^r Whiting rec^d a letter from Gen^l Clinton to wait on him at the River Com^r Woodman Arriv^d from s^d River.

Ditto 17th Maj^r Whiting and adj^t White went to the river and return^d with orders for the Reg^t to march tomorrow for lake Otsago.

Ditto 18th The Reg^t march^d from Fort Alden (in Cherry Valley) 11 . O'Clock . A. M. encamp^t this night in Springfield 6 miles from the

Fort Maj: Whiting ordered a fatiguing party on to mend the Roads towards the Lake it was command^d by Cap: Ballards.

Ditto 19th The Reg^t march^d from Springfield with 8 waggons carrying the baggage 12 . O'Clock A. M. Arriv^d at Lake Otsago 3 . O'Clock P. M: Cap: Lane had gone forward to clear the encampment — Encamp^t on the heights 5 miles march this day.

Ditto 20th (Sunday) Clear^d the passage for the waggons to unload the stores — 60 Batteaus arriv^d at this lake & a Quantity of provisions from the River.

Ditto 21st The Light Infantry company & late Col. Aldens joind the Reg^t at this place from Fort Herkamin — a party of men was order^d By Col. Butler to the foot of the lake to dam the same that the water might be raised to carry the boats currant down Susquehanna-River — Cap: Warren 6 Mas^{rs} Reg^t commanded the party — This day a man was hang^d at Mohawk river taken up for a spy that was viewing the stores as they pass^d up the River he Inform^d Gen: Clinton that he was a Lie^t in butler service which is now with the Indians also Informs that another Tory & 9 Indians came off with him.

Ditto 22^d The late Col Aldens Reg^t muster^d by Cap^t Lush at this Lake Col. Butler and Maj: Whiting went to the foot of the lake to view that Post.

Ditto 23^d A N^o of boats Provisions arriv^d at the Lake this day.

Ditto 24th Boats & provisions arrives at this Lake very fast 500 waggons going steady — A soldier shot at the River this day for desertion.

Ditto 25th A committee began to inspect the provisions at this Lake found but little of the same damaged.

June 26th Col Dubois Reg^t Arriv^d at this Lake and proceeded in Boats to Lows Mills.

Ditto 27th (Sunday) One of the Rifle men was fir^d upon by the Indians in Springfield, was wounded but made his escape with the loss of his fire arms.

Ditto 28th Went to camp Liberty at Lows Mills (and din^d at that place) Gen: Clinton gave Each officer on the ground at this post one cag of Rum containing two Gall. — one man hang^d at Mohawk River taken up for a spy from Butler's camp thats with the Indians.

June 29th The camp was Alarm^d by the firing some Guns by officers going to camp Liberty.

Ditto 30th Nothing new this day.

July 1st 1779. Nothing new.

Ditto 2^d Gen: Clinton arriv^d at Lake Sago from Mohawk river, Col. Butlers Reg^t & Col. Ganseworts arriv^d and crossed the Lake with the Gen: and encamp^t at the foot of s^d Lake, Col Wisenfields Reg^t Arriv^d at the Lake but did not cross, the Gen: order^d all the Provisions to be mov^d immediately to the foot of the Lake.

Ditto 3^d Col. Wisenfields Reg^t & Col. Dubois cross^d the Lake and encamp^t with the other troops at that place, the Gen^l left Maj^r Whiting with his Reg^t to bring up the rear of the Army.

Ditto 4th (Sunday) P. M. Gen^l & com^d Gen^l arriv^d at this Lake with the rear of the Stores, 30 Indians arriv^d at this Lake to go the expedition with Gen^l Clinton, they were commanded by Col^l Hunyary.

Ditto 5th The 6th Mass^{us} Reg^t cross^d the Lake with the rear of the Stores and encamp^t with the rest of the troops at that place.

July 6th Rainy and very windy Col Rignier began to review the troops.

Ditto 7th The 6th Mass^{us} Reg^t review^d by Col. Regnier.

„ 8th Two of our centries fired on two men in the bush, suppos^d them to be spies — the officers drew each one Cag more of Rum.

Ditto 9th Pleasant weather.

„ 10th Nothing new.

„ 11th (Sunday) Heavy storm of Rain.

„ 12th cool weather for the season.

„ 13 Solomon Steel soldier in 6 Mass^{us} Reg^t drop^t down dead as he was roling provisions to the Store.

Ditto 14th Alarm this night by the centries, firing some Guns, suppos^d the saw men advancing to them but soon disappear^d

Ditto 15th Took a tour on the Lake fishing.

„ 16th The weather cool for the season very unholosome at this place some days warm and the next after cool — a N^o of the troops sick with the dissentary.

Ditto 17th Doct^r Younglove arriv^d in camp from Mohawk river.

Ditto 18th (Sunday) I attended publick service at this Lake M^r Greno deliver^d the sermon Chaplain to Gen^l Clinton's Brig^d, his text was taken from 22nd Job. 21. V.

Ditto 19th Nothing new.

„ 20th Major Dow arriv^d from Albany, (Cap^t Parker arriv^d from furlow in this camp) two deserters were brought to the 6th Mass^{us} Reg^t that had left it a few days Agone, (Serj^t Spears & Johnathan Peirce.)

Ditto 21st Three deserters brought into this camp (that had not left it many days) one belonging to the 4th Pensylvania Reg^t was tied up immediately and rec^d 500 lashes it being back allowance due to him some days before he deserted and was forgave by his Col.

Ditto 22^d Began to build an Oven for the Reg^t.

„ 23 An Indian arriv^d in this camp from Fort Schyler, Informs that 1400 Indians and Tories were collected to intercept our march down the river.

Ditto 24th Serj^t Spears whip^t 100 lashes one soldier more 100 lashes with him — three men sentenc^d to be shot by the same Gen^l Court Martial Monday next.

Ditto 25th (Sunday) Rainy weather.

„ 26th The three Prisoners repriev^d until Wednesday next.

„ 27th An express arriv^d in this Camp this day Informs, that Gen^l Wane has taken a small Fort from the enemy at Stonny Point on North River and Captured 550 Men — also informs that Maj^r Hopkins with a N^o of officers from Col Warners Reg^t are kill^d at Sabbath Days point, below Crown point they were out on a Party of pleasure, and were surprised . . by a N^o of Indians. Also informs that thirty two men and one Lie^t are kill^d and taken at the Areseo Fields near Fort Schyler, they were out making hay.

Ditto 28th This morning 9 O Clock in Camp Lake Otsago Jonathan Peirce soldier in 6th Mass^{ts} Reg^t Frederick Snyder 4 Pennsylvania Reg^t Anthony Dunnavan 3^d New York Reg^t were all brought on the grand Parade to be shot to death for desertion the two former were repriev^d and the latter Shot to death — he deserted from Saint John's last winter and inlisted in Albany in y^e 4th N-York Reg^t.

Ditto 29th An Express arriv^d this day informs that a body of the enemy has been discover'd near fort Schyler including some British troops.

July 30th Very pleasant weather which is something remarkable at this place.

Ditto 31st Lie^t Peebody Ariv^d from Mohawk river with fat cattle for the use of the troops at this post.

August 1st M^r Greno, Deliver^d a Sermon.

„ 2^d Pleasant weather eat a rarity Apples and Cucumbers the first I have eat this year.

Ditto 3^d Pleasant weather, an Indian arriv^d from Onida in this camp Informs by a letter from Col. Lewe that two Indians from the enemy brought in the account that 50 men had been kill^d lately at the Minisinks by indians.

Ditto 4th An Express Arriv^d from Gen^l Sullivan to Gen^l Clinton in this camp — informs that Gen^l Clinton's division will march in a few days.

Ditto 5th Warm days & cool Nights at this place.

„ 6 Nothing new.

„ 7 This day all the light infantry Paraded, belonging to the several Reg^{ts} was inspected by Col. W^m Butler 4th Pensy^a Reg^t who is to have the command of them together with the Rifle corps.

Ditto 8th (Sunday) All the boats loaded ready to proceed down the river to morrow — this Evening 6 O'Clock the sluice way was broke up and the water fill^d the river immediately where a boat could pass, which was almost dry before — this Lake is 8 Miles long and very level was rais^d in the upper part of it by this dike one foot perpendicular.

Augst 9th The Troops embark^d on board the boats 9, O Clock this morning excepting those that went by land at 10 proceeded down

Susquehannah River, 4th Pensy^a Reg^t in front 3^d N. York in Rear and arriv^d at M^r Culleys farm without much trouble by the crooks and turns in this River which are very plenty the land on the sides of this River very Good and rich soil — Kill^d a large N^o of rattle Snakes which were very plenty at this place, and very large came 30 Miles by water and 16 by land this day.

Ditto 10th Rainy in the morning 2 O'Clock P. M. embark^d, and proceeded as far as Yokeums farm and encamp^t which is 8 Miles by water and 5 by land, the form of our March is as follows — Rifle men and light infantry in front Com^d by Col. W^m Butler, detach^d from each Reg^t to march opposite the boats with a strong rear Guard cattle in centre.

Ditto 11th Embark^d 7 O clock A. M. proceeded without much trouble as far as Ogden's Farm and encamp^t on the right of the River 25 Miles by water and 15 by land this day — the land very fine at this place, the land in Gen^l by the sides of this River when one side is good the other is barren — The Gen^l order^d each officer one Quart of Rum and one Gill to each other man.

Ditto 12th Embark^d 7 . O clock AM arriv^d at the Scotch Settlement 2 . O'Clock P. M. 15. Miles Ogdens where I went on shore and gather^d a quantity of berrys and made a Bowl of Punch — Our troops burnt two houses, Arriv^d at Unadilla 3 O'clock P. M. and encamp^t half a mile above Demini Johnston's Farm — the land very good at this place the houses are all destroy^d by the Indians last summer — Some Indian tracks discovered by the front Guard this day. — This is the place where Gen^l Hercamin held the first Council with Brant and the Indians after this war commenc^d

Ditto 13th Embark^d 6 O'clock A. M. proceeded half a mile and halted by reason of the Rapids proceeded on and encamp^t 4 . O clock P. M. on an Indian Island which had ben improv^d by them left hand River 25 Miles by water 10 by land this day.

Ditto 14. Embark^d 9 O'clock A. M. proceeded on and Arrived at Ocquaugo and encamp^t 5 O clock P. M. the land very fine at this place 10 Miles by land 15 by water this day — Some Apple-trees at this place this is the Indian Settlement that Colonel W^m Butler burnt last fall.

Ditto 15th (Sunday) M^r Greno deliver^d a sermon this day, a soldier of the 4th Pensy^a Reg^t died of a putrid fever and was buried under Arms with three vollies fir^d over his Grave Gen^l Clinton is waiting for some Militia to join him from the North river.

Ditto 16th This Onnaquaugo is pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and on Island in the center the Ruins of about 60 houses which appears by the cellars and wells that it was a fine Settlement before it was destroy^d considering they were Indians One English

family lived with them 4th Pensy^a Reg^t went out to escort the Militia into this place but return^d without seeing them.

Ditto 17th Fir^d a cannon this morning to inform the Militia that the troops were not gone. embark^d 10 O Clock A. M. proceeded on 6 Miles and then made a halt to let the troops ford the River. — Burnt a N^o of Indians houses at the lower end of Onnaquaugo, some fine Orchards with plenty of Apples in them on the banks of this River, but the troops were not allow^d to stop and get any of them — pass^d a large rapid and made a halt, this river is very crooked and you will run all points in the day — it divides in some places into 6 different Streams — leaves one sufficient to carry a large boat. Arriv^d at Tiscarora village about sunset and encamp^t right hand of the river — The Rifle men found some Sides of tan^d leather in a fat [*sic*] in the woods — made other discoveries found a dead man put under the roots of a wind fall (which was suppos^d him to be a prisoner that they had lately taken) found a war post which the Indians had put up with marks cut in the same in token of their Scalps, and prisoners, destroy^d two houses. discover^d a batteau painted on a ledge of Rocks left hand of the river which was a token that the Indians knew of their enemy's coming as the kept runners constantly before our Army — came 25 miles by water and 15 by land this day.

Ditto 18th Embarked 7 O Clock A. M. proceeded one Mile and burnt one house right hand of the river went a little further and burnt two more, Arriv^d half a mile below Cheningo Creek and turn^d back to said creek and encamp^t the Gen^l detach^d a party of men to go up said Creek and destroy^d Cheningo town which was don — Two men from Gen^l Poor arriv^d to Gen^l Clinton and informs that Gen^l Poor will be within 8 miles of this camp this Night to escort Gen^l Clintons Troops to Gen^l Sullivan — came 25 Miles by water and 16 by land this day — Encamp^t right hand of the river.

Ditto 19th Embark^d 8 O Clock A. M. and proceeded on one mile and burnt 7 houses, left hand of the river, went a few miles and burnt 2 more same side of the river. Arriv^d at Chukkanut, 9 O Clock A. M. where Gen^l Poor's Division were encamp^t — About 11 hundred men, burnt 5 houses at this place 5 miles By water and 4 by land from our last Encampment to this place this is a fine large Flatt chiefly on the right hand of the River going down the army proceeded on and arriv^d, at Owago about sunset this is a large Indian Settlement and fine land — Encamp^t at this place, this is the Indian town that Serj^t hunter was Carried to that was taken 10th Nov^r last below Cherry Valley on this same River as he was returning with his Scout — heavy rain this night, the Gen^l detach^d a party and sent them and burnt the town at this place About two Miles up a little Creek — 18 Miles by water and 14 by land this day.

Ditto 20th heavy Rain this day which detained the troops from marching — There was but one Barrel of rum in the Store which the Gen^l ordered to be equally divided between the officers which was one Point each — The Land which I have pass^d in gen^l down this river is very good but when the flats are good on the one side the other is mountany and the flats narrow from the river.

Ditto 21st Embarked 7 O'clock A. M. proceeded on our way and encampt 3 O clock P. M. opposite an old Indian field about 500 Acres clear^d and very good — left hand of the river — saw some fine land on the sides of the river this day some pleasant mountains clear^d by fire — discover^d in the camp two Indian's bodies, lately buried only cover^d with turf, and the bones of one man that had ben burnt to death, saw the tree that they took the pitch splinters from, supposed him (that was burnt) to be an English Prisoner they had taken, and this was done in revenge for one of their Brothers that had been kill^d — Two of our boats ran on the rapids one of which was stove, both loaded with Ordinance Stores — 14 Boxes ruin^d 27,000 Cartri^s in the Same 3 barrels of Powder We are now 6 Miles from Gen^l Sullivans camp — One Fitch Jerritt had lived at this place and is now with Gen^l Sullivan as a Pilate — 20 Miles by water 14 by land this day.

Ditto 22^d (Sunday) Embarked 7 O'clock A. M. Arriv^d at Gen^l Hands detachment of light troops 9 . O'clock A. M. where our troops were saluted from the land with 13 Cannon proceeded on one Mile further and arriv^d at Tioga where Gen^l Sullivan's troops were campt on the West side of the river — Encampt $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 O Clock A M in an Old Indian Field a large quantity of land clear^d at this place — which is very good the Field officers all din^d with Gen^l Sullivan this day — All Mountains on the East side of this River at this place — Tioga Branch Leads from this into the Cinnaku [Seneca?] nation — 6 miles By water & 5 by land this day.

Ditto 23^d Cap^t Kimbal P. master to Col. Cilley's Reg^t this day was accidentally shot to death, and two soldiers wounded by the same gun that was carelessly discharged by a soldier of said Reg^t — New Hampshire Forces — Fine pleasant weather.

Ditto 24th Struck tents in the afternoon and proceeded on to our line of March. 6 Mass^{ts} Reg^t join^d Gen^l Poor's brigade.

Augst 25th The troops all ordered to March and leave the ground at 8 O clock A. M. but were detain^d by a heavy rain.

Ditto 26th 11 O clock A. M. the army march^d and left the ground proceeded on about 5 miles and encampt on a pine plain by the side of a Large flatt about 500 Acres in the same well cover^d with grass — one deer ran through the camp.

Ditto 27th Cap^t Day and Lie^t Carter with 25 men from the 6th Mass^{ts} Reg^t are left in Fort Sullivan with the baggage the Army

proceeded on this morning 8 O clock over hills and mountains, made a halt for the Pack horses and waggons to pass a large defile some men detach^d to get them over about sunset march^d forward and arrived at a large Indian settlement 11. O clock P. M. a large quantity of corn beans and other sauce at this place — the land very good, large flats — much trouble this day with the Pack horses their loads often falling off. — came 7 miles this day.

Ditto 28th Pleasant weather — the troops lay on this ground until 3 O clock P. M. waiting for Gen^l Clinton's Brigade to come on and to destroy the corn. After a signal of three cannon the Army mov^d on the first for striking tents 2^d for Loading the baggage 3^d for Marching &c and proceeded over a large mountain about 2 miles high — arriv^d at Chemung about Sunset and Encampt near the river — came 4 Miles this day.

Ditto 29th (Sunday) This morning the camp was alarm^d by the firing some guns, but turn^d out to be the Riflemen clearing out their Arms — the Army mov^d on. 8 O Clock A. M. — at 1 .. P. M. our front guard discoverd the enemy's breast-works at Newtown — the army made a halt, and was ordered in line of Battle — the Artillery under the command of Col. Procter soon began to cannonade their works with Ball and Shells — Gen^l Poor's Brig^a were Posted on their left and had to climb a large mountain while the savages kept a smart fire on them from the top of said mountain, but Gen^l Poor's Brig^a soon gain^d the enemy's ground which were oblig^d to take to their heels for safety and leave a good deal of their baggage behind them — such as blankets, packs &c. — the enemy was soon attack^d from right to left in one hour they left their works and fled before the brave continental troops leaving behind them, one of their Chiefs and a N^o of others dead in the field — making in the whole 14 Indians — one Negro. and one white man, fell prisoner into our hands — their breastwork was made of pine Logs cover^d with green skrub bushes that no one might discover the same until they were quite on it — it extended near half a mile in length and from their right to their left one mile and half — the loss of Gen^l Sullivan's army is one Lie^t 3 Soldiers kill^d 34 wounded — including 1 Maj^r 1 Cap^t — in the 6th Mass^{ts} Reg^t one man kill^d 6 wounded included in the above N^o Came 5 miles this day the name of the Lie^t that was kill^d was M^cColley — Encampt — large quantities of corn and sauce at this place.

Ditto 30th The army employ^d this day in destroying the corn.

Gen^l Sullivan requested the troops to take half allowance for the present which was agreed to by the Army as the corn and other sauce is very plenty at this p^lace — the wounded with the waggons and part of the cannon, were sent down this night to Fort Sullivan.

Augst 31st 1779. The Army mov^d on 11 O Clock, A. M. march^d chiefly

on plains & flats, had very fine marching this day — Encampt on a pine plain.

Our Riflemen discov^d some Indians — 12 miles march to-day.

Sept. 1st The Army mov^d on 10 . O Clock A. M. marched 5 Miles on this plain and came to a defile a large marsh on the left hand — The Pack horses were detained some time by passing a narrow passage close under the mountain — soon arriv^d at a long-swamp, where the Artillery and Pack horses by reason of large gulley's and miry sloughs found it very difficult to pass — this swamp is 9 miles through the Army arriv^d at Queen Catherine's Castle 9 . O'clock P. M. Excepting Gen^l Clintons Brigade campt in the swamp as it brought up the rear of the Army could not get through — Some of the Pack-horses Died in this swamp and a N^o of them left with their drivers all night, as they could not reach through — the Indians had left this place but a few hours, when our front guard arriv^d, as their fires were burning — there was a creek ran through this town, there was five houses one side of said Creek and six the other — the Queens Pallace was a gambriel ruft house about 30 feet long and 18 wide — I campt by the side of a log on a piece of bark that came off one of their houses, by a fire the Indians had left, without any blanket, as my baggage tarried all night in the Swamp (I was very cold) the worst rout this day I have seen on the march — came 14 Miles this day.

Sept. 2^d This day the troops were employ^d in wash^e their cloathing (and lay still to recruit the horses) and let the rear of the Army come up &c the Gen^l detach^d a party of Volunteers to pursue the enemy, but return^d without discovering any of them — Our troops found an old Indian squaw at this place that the Indians had left by reason of her being so old that she could not travel with them — the land is very good at this place, own^d all by this Queen — there was one Dutch family liv^d here, and are gone off with the rest; there was a N^o of feather beds found in his house and two horses found in his fields.

Ditto 3^d The army mov^d on at 8 O'clock A. M. march^d in the Indian path, the roads very good this day — pass^d some fine land timber^d with Oak and Walnut — march^d by a creek, which ran through a large meadow — Our front guard discov^d some Indians in a corn field, which fled and left their Kettles on the fire — Encampt on a heighth about 6 miles from an Indian Village — the horses had only bushes for forrage this night — came 12 miles this day.

Ditto 4th This morning the troops were ordered to march at sunrise, but were detain^d by reason of the rain — the Army mov^d on 9 . O clock A. M. arriv^d at an Indian Settlement 11 : O clock A. M. where we burnt 6 houses and destroy^d some fields of corn, joining the Cinnaka Lake — where I had a full view of s^d Lake, and appear^d to me like a small Ocean — the Land the Army march^d over this day, is very fine and not

mountany — some of the Pack-horses gave out and died under their Loads partly for want of forrage — Gen^l Sullivan sent off two Indians as Expresses one to Col. Broadhead the other to Onida (those two Indians were from Onida) Encampt on a piece of fine Land, little or no under brush, wooded chiefly with white oak — the horses had bushes for fodder this night — I gathered a quantity of wild Oranges this day as large as common limes — the Enemy had wrote on several trees that Gen^l Sullivan might pursue, but would soon meet with trouble.

Sept^r 5th (Sunday) The Army mov^d on, 9 O . clock A. M. the land our army march^d over this day is very good and level. Pass^d two large Gulleys which made it very difficult for the Pack horses to pass — the Army arriv^d at appletown or Saint Coy. 2 . O'clock P. M. where we found 13 houses and a large old orchard and some peach trees — Three grand tombs where it is supposed they buried some of their chiefs, they were all painted very fine, and cover^d with a frame and bark, on the top of the whole — some of the houses were made of hew^d timber and one of them had a chimney in it. 11 of those houses stood on a ridge about 60 rods long and 20 rods wide ; on this place stood the Orchard which appear^d to be planted many years — Near this Town was all bushes the piece I have mentioned, only excepted, which is a custom with them to have no land cleared near their houses : their corn fields were about half a mile from the town but the corn was chiefly gone before the Army arriv^d — The Army encampt at this place — A prisoner came to our army inform^d Gen^l Sullivan that he left the Indians last friday and made his escape — he was taken by them last summer at Wyoming and brought to this place — says that the Enemy left this town last Thursday & Friday, and that their strength Now with Butler is about seven hundred Indians and Tories and that Butler means to fight us again — the Gen^l order^d the apple trees all girdled or cut down which was done — the houses burnt — came 6 miles this day.

Sept 6th This morning the army was detain^d from marching, by reason of the guards losing 60 or 70 head of fat Cattle last Night — A party of men were sent out in quest of them, and found about half of them — the Army march^d on at 2 . O'clock P. M. proceeded on about four miles and Encampt near the Lake which is at this place, about 8 miles acrost the water very clear and gravelly bottom — came over fine land this day and level — came 4 miles this day.

Sept^r 7th The Army mov^d on at 8 . O'Clock A. M. proceeded on 8 miles and came to the foot of the Great Cinnakee Lake about 12, O'clock A. M. the army forded the outlet of this Lake which was two rods acrost about two feet deep the water, with a swift curreant — the Army march^d on the beach at the foot of this lake, from one side to the other, which was about three miles — Swamp on the right hand and water on the left, this Lake is 40 miles long and 8 miles wide at the

widest part — the land on the west side is very level, and not mountany — 80 miles from Tioga, to the foot of this lake — The army burnt two houses at the foot of this lake, was said they belonged to the Cinnakee King and made use of one of them as a summer seat — the Army proceeded on two miles and arriv^d at Cannondesago the chief Cinnakee castle about dusk, where we found about 80 houses something large — some of them built with hew^d timber & part with round timber and part with bark. Large quantities of corn and beans with all sorts of sauce, at this place a fine Young Orchard, which was soon all girdled by the pioneers — this town lays very compact not more than 100 rods from outside to outside. came 10 miles this day — the foot of this Lake lays exact East.

Sep^r 8th This day the Army lay at this place to recruit — The Gen^l sent a detachment to destroy some houses and corn, on the sides of this Lake, which was done — at our first arrival at this place, there was found a man child about 4 years old naked, left by the Savages. Must be the child of some white prisoner they had taken.

Sep^r 9th The Troops were ordered to march at 6 O'clock this morning, but were detained by reason of a heavy rain — Cap^t Reed set out for Fort Sullivan with the invalids from this place — The troops mov^d on 11. O'clock A. M. and march^d the Artillery in an Indian path — the Indian fields continued near 5 miles on our way from this Castle. very good road this day — excepting one small swamp but pass^d the same without much trouble — After marching 7 miles came to a brook, the first water the Army pass^d this day — three brigades cross^d the brook half a mile and encamp^t — Gen^l Clinton's brigade did not cross — came 7 miles and half this day.

Sep^r 10th The Army mov^d on 8 Oclock A. M. proceeded on 4 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles through swampy ground, and then arriv^d at an Indian Field, which continued for some miles — Came to a large Lake forded the Outlet, which was two feet deep about, four rods acrost. proceeded half a mile and arriv^d at Cannonowago — a Ginnacee Castle where was 19 houses about 1. O'clock P. M. fire was set to then soon which consumed them to Ashes in a short time — the Army proceeded on $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile and encamp^t near their Corn, which was in great plenty, near a mile in length. Came 9 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to day.

Sep^r 11th The Army mov^d on 6 Oclock A. M. (as the corn was destroy^d Yesterday) had very good roads this day the land very good and leval pass^d a N^o. of Indian fields which were all covered with large quantities of Indian grass — Arriv^d 3. O clock P. M. to a Ginnacee Castle of 8 houses, Great plenty of corn and beans at this place, the Army encamp^t (this Castle cal^d Onnayayon) this town is on a fine piece of intervale land and well water^d by fine springs and a small brook running through the same, which is very rare to be found in this

country and in general the Towns I have pass^d stand on poor land. — Came 13 miles this day.

Sep^t 12th 1779 (Sunday) The troops were ordered to march this morning at 6 O'clock. but were detain^d by the rain, the Army mov^d on 1 O'clock P. M. and proceeded 4 miles and came to a lake which was on our left hand, forded the out-let which was one rod acrost and one foot deep with water, (myself cross^d on a tree that was fell acrost the same) went 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles further and the Army encamp^t on the side of a large hill — where was but little or no under brush — The Gen^l left part of the Stores with one of the field pieces and a strong guard at the place the troops left this day — The rout very good this day — came 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Sep^t 13th The Army mov^d on 6 O'clock A. M. proceeded on one and half miles and arriv^d at Yoxsaw, a Ginnasee Town, where was 10 houses that were soon burnt — great plenty of corn, and all sorts of sauce at this place, Great N^o of Peach trees which our troops soon cut down. — The Army made a halt at this place for breakfast and to distroy the corn — About 12. O'clock A. M. the Indians attack^d a party of our men that were sent out Yesterday as a discovering party command^d by Lie^t Boy^d, they were returning to camp and were about one mile from the same, when the Indians discover^d them, with the Lie^t was a N^o of the Riflemen some Musket men, and one Onida Chief making in the whole 27 men 11. of the N^o made their escape, the rest were kill^d and taken. Our troops were making a bridge acrost a Miry River at this place (Whenden), our Army mov^d on and arriv^d at, Costeroholly, (a Ginnacee Castle) about sunset, where some of the Enemy were discover^d but soon fled — Where was 12 houses which were soon Burnt, by the men that escaped in the late Action, we are inform^d that a N^o of the Indians were kill^d and that their N^o in Said Battle were 200 — the Onida Chief was kill^d and cut to Pieces — came 8 miles this day.

Sep^t 14th I should mention that the Riflemen Yesterday took 100 Pack that the Indians had left in their flight — together with their ket-tles and blankets. — The army was employ^d this forenoon in distroying the corn at this place, which was done by throwing part of it into the River and part was burnt — The army mov^d on at 1. O Clock P. M. and forded a deep creek, cross^d the large Ginnacee flatts two miles — Forded the Ginnacee River 8 rods acrost. and knee deep, swift current, which made it very difficult to pass — came on a height the other side of this flatt, where I had a full view of the same and suppose there is 10,000 acres in it of clear^d land level and all cover^d with grass as high as a man's head — proceeded on over hills and swamps and arriv^d sun one hour high at night; — at the grand Ginnacee Castle where was 120 houses the most of them compact together — where at our arrival we found the body of the brave Lie^t Boy^d and the body of one of the Serj^{ts} that was

with him both of their heads cut off. the Lie^t was all skinned, his back much bruised, his nails burnt out, and many stabs in his body; his brother sufferer was in the like condition, with a knife sticking in his back — their bodies much eat by dogs — The Army encampt at this place — came 6 miles this day.

Sep^t 15th This morning the whole army was ordered out to distroy the corn at this place $\frac{2}{3}$ at work while $\frac{1}{3}$ guarded them; — this was done by carrying part into the houses, which were sav'd for that purpose, the biggest part was burnt in the fields, there was the largest quantity of corn. beans and all sorts of sauce at this Castle that I have seen in one place on my march, as it was their head castle It was suppos^d by the army that there was 1000 acres at this place, and the land very fine and rich — The land from Yoxsaw to this appears to be the best in this country that I have seen though in general all very good, but not well watered — A woman and little child came into our camp this day, that the enemy had left behind them, she informs Gen^l Sullivan, that she was taken from Wyoming by the Indians last summer, and had ben with them ever since; likewise informs that the enemy are much distress^d with hunger and frighted at the approach of the Gen^l's Army, and thinks he is bound for Niagara — 1 . O'clock P. M. the army left this place and began their march back for Tioga as they are now 150 miles from the same. — Set this Town all in flames as there has not one house ben burnt since our arrival, but as I mentioned before were referr^d to distroy the corn in — Cross^d the large River (I mentioned before) about sun-set and Encampt on this large flatt near Casteroholly.

Sep^t 16th This morning the army was employ^d in distroying Corn that was left when the Army mov^d up, which was in great plenty on this flatt. The Army moved on at 9 O'clock A. M. and arriv^d at Yoxsaw 3. O'clock P. M. where the Army halted and encampt to distroy corn that was left at this place — Our dead was Gathered together and buried, that was kill^d y^e 13th Instant, 13 white men and one Indian was found dead in a small compass of ground, they were all Scalpt and hak^d with Tommahawks, the Indian was cut almost all to pieces (it was Cap^t Hunyost from Onida) in the whole 16 kill^d 11 escap^d making 27 in the party — Hard frost this night.

Sep^t 17th The Army mov^d on this morning 6 . O. Clock and arrived at Onnayauyan — 12 O'clock A. M. where we found our Stores in good order, the troops that were left with them had made an Abbertee [abatis?] fort for their Security against the enemy.

Sep^t 18th This morning the Army mov^d on at 7. O. clock Arriv^d at Cannonowago 4. O'Clock P. M. forded the Out-let of the Lake and encampt — a N^o of Onida Indians with one of their Cheifs met us this day.

Sep^t 19th Sunday .. the Army mov^d on this morning 7. O'clock arrived at the half way brook 12 . O'Clock A. M. and made a halt for

the troops to refresh themselves 3, men as Express from Newtown, met Gen^l Sullivan this day informs that there is 6 days provisions for the Army at that Post .. proceeded on and arriv^d at Cannondesago, sun half an hour high at night, and encamp^t on our old camping ground.

Sep^t 20th This forenoon the Army lay at this place the Gen^l detach^d a party under the command of Col. Gansewort to proceed for Albany after the baggage that was left at that place — another party up the side of the Cinnakee Lake to distroy corn — the Army mov^d on 3 . O'Clock P. M. forded the out-let of the Lake and march^d about one mile and encamp^t.

Sep^t 21st The Gen^l detach^d a party this morning command^d by Col. Durbin to go to the other Lake to burn some houses and distroy the Corn &c. at that place — The army mov^d on this morning at 7. O'Clock proceeded on and arriv^d at Appletown 2 . O'Clock P. M. proceeded on a few miles farther and encamp^t near the lake where had ben an old Indian Settlement — 4 . O'Clock P. M.

Sept 22^d. The army mov^d on this morning 8 . O'Clock proceeded on our march camp^t 8 miles from Queen Catharines Castle on a pine plain near a brook — a large buck ran through the camp this evening.

Sep^t. 23^d This morning the Army mov^d on at 7. O'clock Arriv^d at the Queens Castle 12 O clock A. M. where the Army made a halt found the same old Indian Squaw that was left at this place when the Army went up — the army proceed^d on 4 miles and encamp^t in the long Swamp.

Sep^t 24th. This morning the army mov^d on at 8. O clock proceeded on and arrived at Newtown 4 O Clock P. M. where we found the stores under the Command of Cap^t John Reed 6 Mass^{ts} Reg^t. The army was saluted from the fort with 13 Cannon which were return^d from Col. . . Proctors Artillery — the troops drew one Gill of Whiskey each man, and one pound and quarter of beef the first allowance the troops drew this month more than $\frac{1}{2}$ pound beef per day Per man and ditto of flour — there has not been one storm to detain this army one day since they left Tioga which is 30 days.

Sep^t 25th Those forks of the River at this place are called the one Tioga branch the other Keugah branch, both empty into Susquehannah River. The Army lay at this place this day and the future joy [*feu de joie* ?] was fir^d in this camp at 5 O Clock P. M. The Gen^l made a present of an Ox to the officers of each brigade and Likewise to the core of Artillery — each officer half a Point of Rum and each other man one Gill of Whiskey.

Sep^t 26th Sunday. This day Col. Derbin arrived with his detachment from his command and brought two Indian squaws prisoners with him — he informs that he has burnt a N^o of houses and distroyed a large quantity of corn.

Sep^t 27th Col. Cortland was sent with a detachment up Tioga branch to destroy corn which was in great plenty up this River.

Sep^t 28th This morning about 9. O'clock Col. Butler arriv^d in this camp with his detachment that had ben on the Frontiers of Keugo [Cayuga?] Lake. informs that he has destroyed a large quantity of corn and burnt a N^o of Indian Towns—The sick were sent off this day from this place to Tioga, part by water and part by land, the Artillery and Ordinant stores, were all sent in boats down the river to Tioga. excepting the Cowhorn [cohorn?].

Sep^t 29th The Army mov^d this morning at 8. O'clock arriv^d at Chemung 12. O clock. A. M. where the troops made a short halt, and then mov^d on, arriv^d at the camping ground, where we found the first corn going up. Encampt 4 O clock P. M. 8 miles from fort Sullivan.

Sep^t 30th I would inform the reader that Fort Sullivan and Tioga is one place. The Army mov^d on this morning at 8. O'Clock pass^d the large defile which was 200 rods between the brink of the mountains and the river—The army arriv^d at Fort Sullivan 2. O Clock P. M. and was saluted with 13 cannon from the fort—which was returned with 13 from Col. Proctors Artillery, the troops pass^d by the Fort and march^d on to their old Camping ground; and encampt—The officers all din^d in the Fort on a dinner order^d by Col. Shreefe who commanded said fort while the Army were gone on the Expedition—The officers drew $\frac{1}{2}$ a pint of rum each, the other troops one Gill of Whiskey each—This day completes 36 days since the army left this grownd, and has not ben detained one day by storms or any other Accident.

October 1st 1779. Pleasant weather this day.

„ 2nd The Gen^l gave orders for the troops to march monday Next at 6 oclock—Fort Sullivan to be evacuated to morrow morning at 7. O'Clock.

October 3^d Sunday. This day the troops were employed in distroying the Fort and throwing the pickets into the River which was near on both sides of the Fort.

Oct^r 4th This morning the Army March^d and left the ground at 9 O Clock for Wyoming—came over skrub land this day—Pass^d a defile on the brink of the river where was a narrow path on the steep side of a large mountain about 200 feet perpendicular which made it very dangerous to pass; and was a sollid rock three horses with their loads fell off and dashed to pieces in the River—Procee^d on and encampt on the point of the river—Some rain this day and very hard this night—Came 25 miles this day—Part of the troops came in the boats.

October 5th This morning 11 O Clock the troops all embark^d on board the boats, excepting a N^o to drive the Cattle, and take down the pack-horses Proceeded down the river and encampt 7 miles below

Wylucee the boats came on very well, this day pass^d some bad rapids — This river on the sides is very mountany and opposite on the other side some small flatts — Some of these mountains 300 feet perpendicular — Came 21 miles this day.

October 6th This morning the troops mov^d on at 6 O Clock proceeded down this river and encamp^t west side of the same on a piece of land that was cleared by girdling the trees and was cover^d with English grass — Came 30 Miles.

October 7th This morning the Army mov^d on and arriv^d at Wyoming 12 . O'Clock A. M. and encamp^t on a pine plain — the troops drew half a pint of Whiskey each — This river is very mountany, on the sides of it and opposite these mountains on the other side, some small flatts which are very rich and good land, those flatts from Tioga to Wyoming have all ben improv^d and clear'd by girdling, but the houses are all burnt by the Indians — This Wyoming is pleasantly situated on both sides of the river and the land near the same very good — Came 15 miles, making in the whole 91 miles from Tigo to this place by water.

October 8th pleasant weather orders this day for the Army to March Sunday next for Easton.

Oct^r 9th Commissary Woodman left this place for Albany.

October 10th (Sunday) The Army march^d and left the ground 3. O'clock P. M. for Easton — Came over a large mountain very rocky and some muddy sloughs, Arriv^d at Bullocks-Farm at a long meadow 11 . O'clock at night where the troops Encamp^t — Came 7 miles this day.

October 11th This morning the Army mov^d on at 8 . O Clock very bad roads this day — Cross^d the School-kill River Encamp^t about sunset on a pine hill. — Came 14 miles this day — Enter^d the Pensylvania Line.

October 12th This morning the army, mov^d on at 7 . O'clock and came into the bad swamp 3 . O Clock P. M. Met a N^o of Waggon^s from Easton to help on with the baggage — Rained very hard this afternoon. got through the Swamp 4 . O clock P. M., the rout very stony and muddy this day Cross^d the Lehi River. Encamp^t about dusk on a pine plain — Came 16 miles this day.

October 13th This morning the Army mov^d on at 7 . O'clock proceeded on 5 Miles and arriv^d at Larnards Tavern, where was forrage for the use of the Army — proceeded on and arriv^d at Brinkers Mills 5 O'clock P. M. where the army encamp^t and drew provisions, as there is a Continental Store kept at this place — Came 7 miles this day — This place is west side the Blue Mountains.

October 14th This morning the army mov^d on 10 O'clock and crossed the Blue Mountains at the wind gate — Encamp^t East side of the

mountains — The Dilleware and Lehi Rivers runs through this Mountain — large fields of buck wheat in this place, which the men and women thresh in the Fields the Land very Poor in general only some valleys improv^d — Came 7 miles this day.

October 15th This morning the troops march^d at 6 O clock. proceeded on and arriv^d at Easton 1 . O'clock P. M. — The land the Army came by this day is very poor, chiefly skrub oak plains — The army encampt on the bank of the Dilleware River — The Officers of the 6th Mass^{ts}. Reg^t din^d in town this day, that was prepared by Cap^t Ballard as he has ben here some days — This Easton is situated between two mountains, and lays on Dilleware and Lehi River opposite the Gersies, the houses are chiefly built with stone and lime some of them very elegant — Came 12 miles this day, which makes 63 miles from Wyoming to this Town. .

Oct^r. 16th This day I went into the Gersies after some Markee cordage — A very poor place and the land very stony.

Oct 17th Sunday. The 6th Mass^{ts}. Reg^t muster^d this day by M^r. Nehemiah Wade M^r. Master — the troops attended public service in the new church in this town, the sermon deliver^d by M^r. Evins Chaplin to Gen^l Poor's Brigade.

Oct^r. 18th This day the troops were ordered to be Barrack^d in town, those that had no tents to cover them — Capt. Daniel Lane this day was discharg^d from the Continental Army By Gen^l Sullivan at Easton.

Oct^r. 19th This day I rode with Cap^t Reed and some more gentlemen of the Army to Bethlehem a Town 12 Miles from Easton Inhabited by Moravians. Arriv^d there 12 O clock A. M. and din^d at the great Tavern as there is but one in the town, which is kept by the whole place as all their stores are put in public stock — after Dinner was piloted through the town by a squire, went to the Nunnery where was many Curiosities carried on by the Nuns, this house is very large and many rooms in the same which are filled with women of all Ages, not mixed, but every class by themselves, in short all sort of work ever done by a woman carried on in this place, went into their place of worship, where were many Grand Pictures amongst the rest a near Emblem of the sufferings of our Saviour — went into their Bed Chamber where were as many beds as Nuns in the house, as no two of them sleeps together they are exceeding neat and clean with every thing that concerns them. — their custom at night is to keep one of themselves as a Centry at the door of their Chamber, which is relieved every hour, so that they may discover any man coming near them, they see no man but every Sunday, excepting those strangers that go to see their curiosities, which is the time that they expose of the works that supports them — From this I went to the brother's house, where are many things worth seeing, but not equal to the Sisters, those Brothers all live in one house, but dont work in the same — Went to see the Smiths, Tanners, Cloathiers, and

all sorts of trades, which are carried on in the easiest manner all by water — the water is carried through this town to every house, after this manner, it is taken out of a spring by three Pumps, which never stop carried by water, conveyed through a brass Pipe up a steep hill into a Cistern then taken 20 feet into the air perpendicular and from that conveyed through small pipes to all parts of the town, and is drew from a brass Cock that stands in the street in a pump — this town is very pleasantly situated on Lehi River the buildings very elegant all Stone and Lime. These people put all into a common Stock and from that draws their subsistence — left this town about sunset. Arrived at Nazereth 7 O clock this evening, where we tarried this night. 7 miles from Bethlehem.

Oct. 20th This morning went through this town, to see the situation of it, which is very pleasant but is a new place settled but 6 years — All stone houses, the water is carried through this town, in like manner as in the other only it comes naturally from a spring of a heighth without the help of pumps and is carried under ground in large wooden pipes.

Left this town 10 O Clock A. M. Arrived at Easton 1 O Clock P. M. the land between this place and Bethlehem is very poor and sandy, they raise chiefly buck-wheat.

October 21 and 22^d. Nothing new.

„ 23^d This day Gen^l Poor's Brigade cross^d Dilleware-river 10 O'clock A. M. marched 5 miles in the Gersies and, Encampt in the woods — Cap^t Lane set off for New Winsor on North river.

Oct^r 24th Sunday. Pleasant weather.

„ 25 This day I cross^d the Lehi River and rode 10 miles in Pennsylvania to Col. Larricks for horses for the Reg^t and returned to camp in the evening, the land in this rout is very stony and rough.

October 26th Rode into Greenig town with Major Whiting and Adj^t White, & P. Master, Tucker arrived at the Reg^t with money for the same.

October 27th The Army march^d on this day and Encampt in Oxford, about 8 miles from the ground we left, there was wood and straw provided at this place for the Army this place is in the Gersies.

October 28th The army mov^d on this morning at 7 O'clock, proceeded on and arriv^d at Hardwick and encampt, near the Log Goal — came 15 miles.

Oct^r 29th The Army mov^d on this morning at 7 O'clock and arrived at Sussex Court House in Newtown 12 O'clock A. M. in the Gersies 39 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

October 30th This day the army mov^d on and arrived at Charcole Town 12 miles from the Court House, and Encampt.

Oct^r 31st Sunday. The Army moved on this morning and Arrived at Warrick in the afternoon in the State of New York and Encampt — Came 15 miles this day.

Nov: 1st The army moved on this morning and march^d over Sterling Mountains a very rocky, bad rout this day — Arrived at Sterling town and Encamp^t near the furnace, which is built at the mouth of a small Lake the land very rocky and mountany at this place — Came 10 miles this day.

Nov: 2nd The Army moved on this morning, and arrived at Ram-messau in the Clove — 18 miles from Kings ferry — this mountain is 17 miles very rough rout, and difficult for Waggon^s to pass — Encamp^t in the woods — Came 11 miles this day — Lord Sterlings division has left this two days and gone to Kings ferry.

Nov: 3^d Blustering and Cool some squalls of Snow.

Nov: 4th Maj: Whiting and Capt Reed rode into the Country for a party of pleasure.

Nov: 5th The maj: and Cap^t Reed returned to camp this afternoon, the officers baggage arriv^d from New Winsor with their Portmanteaus — Orders to march tomorrow morning 8 O clock for Pumpton in the Gersies.

Nov: 6th Gen: Hands brigade and the Artillery march^d this day for Pumpton — the other two brigades were detained for want of waggon^s — I rode into the country to see a satyr which was 24 inches high drest in coat Jacket and trowsers resembled a small Negro, would handle the fire-lock very well and go through any Manoeuver that his master bid him.

Nov: 7th Sunday, Gen: Clinton's brigade march^d this day for Pompton.

Nov: 8th Gen: Poor's brigade march^d this morning and arrived at Pumpton 3. O'Clock P. M. and encamp^t in the woods, Gen: Washington arrived at Gen: Sullivan's Quarters this afternoon, about 2 miles from this Camp. March^d 12 miles this day.

Nov: 9th This day Gen: Washington rode through this Camp.

Nov: 10th This day the 6th Mass: Reg^t and Rifle Corps were ordered to march tomorrow for Westpoint.

Nov: 11th Were detained for want of waggon^s.

Nov: 12th 6th Mass: Reg^t march^d from Pumpton and arrived at Rammepo in New York State.

Nov: 13th March^d from Rammepo this morning and arriv^d two miles from King's ferry on the North river, and Encamp^t — Came 17 miles this day.

Nov: 14th Sunday, This morning crossed the North river — Arrived at Peekskill and encamp^t about dusk — Came 7 miles this day.

Nov: 15th This morning the Reg^t march^d on and cross^d the river and arrived in Westpoint 2. O Clock P. M. and encamp^t in the bush one mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ down the River — came 8 miles.

Nov: 16th Some snow this night.

„ 17th Cold and blustering Weather.

Nov: 18th This day the 6th Mass.^s Reg^t march^d and joined Gen^l Patterson's Brigade very cold and blustering.

Nov: 19th Pleasant weather.

„ 20th This day sent the horses into the country to be kept as there was no forrage on the Point.

Nov: 21st Sunday, Rainy weather this day — Maj: M^cKinster and Cap^t Bussey came to see me.

Nov: 22nd This day the 6th Mass.^s Reg^t was mustered by Col^o Var-
rick Muster master Gen^l this is the fifth day that the troops have drew
no bread on this Point as there was none.

Nov: 23^d Drew some bread this day — very cool weather at this
place.

Nov: 24 & 25th Nothing new.

„ 26th A smart snow storm this day — and the men in the tents
which made it very tedious.

Nov: 27th The Snow blew very much, and made it as tedious as the
storm which Crept into our tents very fast.

Nov: 28th Sunday. Pleasant weather this day and warm.

„ 29th The Paymaster arrived with the Clothing for the Reg^t.

Nov: 30th This day the chane that crossed the River was removed by
hoisting the same whole between Boats and was taken to the shore to
be laid up for the winter.

December 1st Five men discharg^d this day from the 6th Mass.^s Reg^t.

December 2^d A Still snow storm began this morning, which clear^d
off with a heavy rain — made it very tedious in camp.

Dec: 3^d and 4th Nothing new.

„ 5th Sunday . . A tedious snow storm and wind this day.

Dec: 6th Lie^t Carter Ensign Bagnal, Ensⁿ Parker, set out for home,
on furlow from Westpoint.

Dec: 7th Cap^t Ballard left West-point on furlow — Cap^t Reed,
P. Master Tucker and Lie^t Givins went to New Winsor.

Dec: 8th Cap^t Reed P. M. and L^t Givins return^d to camp.

Dec: 9th Thanksgiving-day the Troops drew one Gill of Rum.

Dec: 10th Some rain this day.

„ 11th Nothing new this day.

„ 12th Sunday some snow and heavy rain this day at West point.

Dec: 13 . . 14 . . 15 . . 16 . . & 17th Nothing new.

„ 18th A tedious snow storm with hard wind which made it very
bad in tents.

Dec: 19th (Sunday.) Went to Gen^l Heath's and got my furlow.

December 20th Left Westpoint on furlow Lodg^d at M^r Huestins 6
miles from said point the weather very cold.

December 21st Breakfast at Fishkill — Dined at Esq Storms's
lodged at Col Moorhouse's 30 miles this day.

December 22nd Lodg^d two miles from Lichfield came 25 miles this day.

December 23rd Proceeded on, the roads very bad this day, and not broke, Lodg^d in Symsberry at Landlord Garrets, 18 miles from Lichfield 20 miles this day.

December 24th This morning proceeded on Arrived at Springfield 6 O'clock P. M. — Lodg^d at Landlord Edes 11 miles from Springfield — 41 miles this day the roads very good.

Dec^r 25th Proceeded on — Lodg^d this night at Landlord Tafts — 6 miles West from Worcester — 32 Miles this day.

Dec^r 26th Sunday. proceeded on and Lodg^d at Col Mackintoshes in Needham — Came 47 miles this day.

Dec^r 27th Proceeded on and arrived at Stoughton sunset, the weather has ben very cold and severe since I left camp — 12 miles this day.

December 28th Some snow this day.

„ 29 .. 30 and 31st Nothing new this day.

January 1st 1780. Pleasant weather.

„ 2nd (Sunday) very cold this day and a storm of snow this night.

Jan^y 3^d Some snow and blustering this day.¹

¹ The original journal is now owned by Mr. William Henry McKendry, of Ponkapoag, Massachusetts, of the Harvard Class of 1882. By him it was lent to our associate the Rev. Henry F. Jenks, of Canton, who has compared the proof with it, and has made the essential corrections in the text. — J. W.